



# ***Daily Report***

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# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-89-124  
Thursday  
29 June 1989

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-124

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**Gabon's Bongo Returns From Zaire, Notes Summit**  
*AB2306109589 Libreville Africa No 1 in French*  
0730 GMT 23 Jun 9

[Text] The Gbadolite summit ended yesterday with the announcement of a cessation of all hostilities and the proclamation of a cease-fire in Angola as of 24 June. This announcement was made in a statement in Gbadolite published by Zaire, which hosted the summit. This country explained that a commission responsible for working on conditions for implementing a plan aimed at national reconciliation in Angola with the mediation of President Mobutu Sese Seko, was set up. This summit was described as historical by a great number of participants because Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and his main rival, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]—an armed opposition movement—who were meeting officially for the first time since 1975, the start of the war in Angola, shook hands with each other, a gesture that speaks for itself.

The Gabonese head of state, Omar Bongo, who took part in the Gbadolite summit in Zaire devoted to attaining peace in Angola, upon his return to Libreville reviewed for the press the highlights of the agreement that was proposed by the representatives of many African countries and which was accepted by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. Here President Bongo takes stock of the proceedings of the Gbadolite summit:

[Begin Bongo recording] We reached an agreement after listening to Presidents Mobutu and Dos Santos. We all more or less addressed the summit to gather more information. Then Savimbi arrived. He listened to our decisions, and, believe me, Mr Savimbi displayed his qualities of a great statesman, judging from his short but significant statement. After Savimbi, Dos Santos also made a brief statement. Both statements were sealed with a very warm handshake.

The main terms of the agreements that we reached were: the cessation of hostilities on Saturday [24 June] at midnight; and the total integration of all the former assets of the UNITA within the Angolan Government, the Army, and in the administration. In short, everything that concerns the situation of the country is to be reabsorbed. It was also decided to put a stop to foreign interference. Lastly, we worked out the conditions for this reconciliation process. [end recording]

**Says Savimbi Exile Not Discussed**

*AB2306205489 Libreville Africa No 1 in French*  
1830 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola will be integrated into the Angolan Government at all levels, Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko stated a day after the historic Gbadolite summit in Zaire and just a few hours prior to the implementation of the cease-fire that today takes effect at midnight. [passage omitted]

Gabonese President Omar Bongo also participated in the Gbadolite summit. From his declaration, there are two important points to be retained. The first is the contradiction concerning reports on the exile of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi:

[Begin Bongo recording] We neither spoke about exile nor elections. We [words indistinct] this meeting. I told you that at any rate a commission would be established. It will be comprised of Zairians, Angolans, UNITA officials, and probably [words indistinct] again that the UNITA elements are Angolans. But as for exile or (?presidential elections), I cannot tell you anything, although maybe they were discussed. Finally, we have said a lot of things over the past days. There are some things that I would not like to tell you [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

**Angolan Delegations To Hold Talks in Zaire**

*AB2806160189 Paris AFP in French 1442 GMT*  
28 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Kinshasa, 28 June (AFP)—An Angolan delegation led by General Antonio dos Santos Franca "Ndalu," chief of staff of the Armed Forces, arrived in Kinshasa last night to hold talks with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] representatives on ways of integrating this movement into the ruling MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], it was announced today by reliable sources in the Zairian capital.

According to these sources, the delegation of Jonas Savimbi's movement that will take part in these talks is expected to arrive in Zaire "within the next few hours." Officials in Kinshasa had not as of early this afternoon officially announced this upcoming meeting, and it was not known who will lead the UNITA delegation to these talks. [passage omitted]

## FRG Labor Minister Bluem Continues Visit

### 'Shouted at' by P.W. Botha

MB2806153589 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1100 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] President P.W. Botha allegedly shouted at a visiting West German cabinet minister, saying he wasn't qualified to discuss apartheid because of Germany's Nazi past.

Details of the row between Botha and Bonn's labor minister, Norbert Bluem, have been given by sources in the minister's delegation days after the two men left [words indistinct] Pretoria. The sources say the meeting started in a friendly manner, with Botha saying how beautiful Germany is.

Bluem said he wasn't interested in small talk; he wanted to discuss apartheid.

One source said Botha then became [word indistinct]. Botha, known for his short temper and finger jabbing, then apparently started shouting at Bluem and interrupted him repeatedly.

Bluem is the first West German minister to visit South Africa in 11 years. West German Embassy spokesman said another such visit is not anticipated soon.

### Meets With F.W. de Klerk

MB2806163889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1428 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria, June 28, SAPA—The West German minister of labour and social affairs, Mr Norbert Bluem, held talks with the leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, in Pretoria today.

He told reporters after the meeting at the Ou Raadsaal [Old Council Chamber] on Church Square that Mr de Klerk had assured him that "white domination must be abolished," and that the matter would be negotiated with the "opposition."

Mr Bluem said he told Mr de Klerk the government should negotiate with real opposition leaders, not those of its choosing.

Mr Bluem also raised the question on ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela's release. Mr de Klerk said the more pressure that was put on the government in this regard, the more difficult it became to "make a decision."

Mr Bluem said that it would be "easy" to release Mandela.

The visiting minister and a large contingent of German media representatives were scheduled to meet Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference leaders at Khanya House here later today.

He is scheduled to address a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport's VIP lounge at 1800, before flying out of South Africa aboard Lufthansa Flight 571 at 1955.

### Speaks With Press, Departs

MB2806192489 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1912 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 28 SAPA—The West German minister of labour and social affairs, Mr Norbert Bluem, jetted out of Jan Smuts this evening with a blunt warning to the country's leaders: This is the last chance to abolish apartheid.

Describing himself as "highly-motivated politically" since his arrival, Mr Bluem said National Party leader F.W. de Klerk had inspired him with hope for the future and chance should not be squandered.

"Mr de Klerk has our best wishes, and I appeal for people to give him a chance. But if our hopes are frustrated, these will be the last we will place in this country."

"Time is running out, time is short, time is against a peaceful solution. But a solution must be found as no policy justifies the sacrifice of human lives", Bluem said.

The German minister said his hopes were raised when Mr de Klerk said he wanted an "end to white domination". Mr Bluem held talks earlier today with Mr de Klerk.

Mr Bluem lashed out at the reimposition of the state of emergency saying dialogue between opposing groups could not take place under a climate of "repression".

"This country needs dialogue between the rulers and the authentic representatives of the communities. Dialogue involves the will to find a solution. Talks cannot take place under repression and an emergency."

"What is needed is confidence-building and mutual trust and the first way would be to release Nelson Mandela. The other point is that each partner must accept the partner of the other side. If one talks to a partner of your own making, it becomes a monologue with an echo and becomes worthless".

Turning to economic sanctions, Mr Bluem said he was sceptical of its effectiveness, but said further sanctions could not be ruled out.

"The price of sanctions is mass impoverishment. When a new South Africa comes into being, it would be sad if it was faced with an economic wasteland."

"The European Economic Community has already adopted some sanctions, so I will never say we won't adopt further measures", Mr Bluem said.

On the question of capital punishment, the German labour minister reiterated an earlier statement that there would be a "worldwide outcry" if the Upington 14 and others on death row were executed.

He had presented a list of people on death row, he said, to both law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, and justice minister, Kobie Coetsee, and would closely monitor developments.

"If the Upington 14 are executed, the worldwide outcry would make the outrage over the Sharpeville killings (1960) take second place," he warned.

Among those whose fate he would be watching was Robert McBride, the convicted African National Congress (ANC) guerilla responsible for the Magoo Bar bombing in Durban.

Minister Vlok, he said, had also promised to provide the West Germany Embassy in Pretoria with written information on the reasons for activists still in detention.

Throughout the press conference, Mr Bluem side-stepped questions on the reported clash with President P.W. Botha yesterday.

Describing the discussions as "open and frank", he said it would have no bearing on current relations between Bonn and Pretoria.

"Mr Botha had his point of view, and I had mine" he said, noting that such discussions could often be misinterpreted.

"South Africa needs (international) help, but it will only get it, the quicker and easier it abolishes apartheid. You cannot discriminate against a person solely on the basis of the colour of his skin", Mr Bluem said.

**'Unpredictable' President Botha Worries NP**  
MB2506120789 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 25 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

["The Fury of P.W. Botha" by Lester Venter, political correspondent]

[Text] President Botha could be on the brink of a damaging public showdown with the National Party [NP] leadership.

Party leaders now fear that the angry, reclusive and increasingly unpredictable Mr Botha might do something that will cause them grave embarrassment before the election of September 6.

Highly placed sources say that matters were brought to a head by Mr F.W. de Klerk's decision to unveil a new policy package at the NP federal congress on Thursday.

They said Mr Botha demanded that the proposals be laid before him for approval—but Mr de Klerk refused on the grounds that the State President was no longer party leader.

Hitherto Mr de Klerk has displayed great forbearance towards his ailing predecessor and has been scrupulous in observing protocol.

However, President Botha's reluctance to become reconciled with the fact that he relinquished political power when he resigned as NP leader in February has caused tensions to mount. They finally burst into the open this week when—despite frantic last-minute pleas from NP leaders—Mr Botha bluntly turned down the invitation to a farewell banquet honouring him on the eve of the party congress.

Sources in the upper echelons of the NP said it was Mr de Klerk's firm stand on the party's right to formulate policy without interference that led to the snub. After resigning the party leadership five months ago Mr Botha became, technically, merely an ordinary member of the NP who held no office within it.

But he seemed highly reluctant to acknowledge this after more than 10 years of imperious rule.

"There was intense behind-the-scenes wrangling over the new policy and Mr Botha's wings were severely clipped in the process," a senior source said yesterday.

Mr de Klerk will now use the federal congress to stamp his leadership on the party. He plans to set the tone for an administration that will take South Africa into the '90s.

To achieve this, Mr de Klerk needs to show a clear break with the past.

This factor, according to a source, combined with the party's deep concern over the slowdown of reform during Mr Botha's final 24 months, made the new generation of NP leaders determined to formulate a new policy free of Mr Botha's influence.

This week there was well-founded speculation that the new policy—including a Bill of Rights, a commitment to negotiations and a new flexibility on ethnic group formation—formed the basis of Mr de Klerk's talks with Western leaders.

Observers noted yesterday that Mr de Klerk's determination to press ahead with change could explain the unexpectedly warm reception Mr de Klerk received from West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, his foreign minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

This speculation was reinforced by the new American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Hank Cohen.

In a transatlantic discussion with South African journalists he said he was expecting "some interesting proposals" from the SA [South African] Government after the September election.

However, as NP delegates prepare for this week's congress, many fear what Mr Botha—reluctant to allow a clean transfer of leadership to Mr de Klerk—might do next to display his displeasure.

To illustrate their fears, some point to the consternation which Mr Botha caused when, they say, he refused to sign the proclamation of a new state of emergency until about 24 hours before the previous proclamation lapsed earlier this month.

Mr Botha apparently turned down the entreaties of a delegation of senior Ministers on the Friday before the deadline.

Only a weekend of intense work by senior uniformed security personnel to draft a new presentation ultimately persuaded Mr Botha to sign.

Since a Parliament prorogued a month ago, Mr Botha has spent much of his time at his home in Wilderness.

For some weeks he has not attended Cabinet meetings, which are now styled as "Ministers' meetings".

Thursday's congress will, in effect, be the launching of the NP's election campaign.

It is understood that Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information and a former political science professor, played a major part in devising the new policy package.

It is believed that a Bill of Rights forms the basis of the NP's new direction, with an emphasis on individual rights. These are likely to be interpreted as the right of individuals to form groups that qualify for protection, but also also permit citizens to opt for membership of "open groups".

**NP Election Manifesto Similar to 1987 Document**  
*MB2506113189 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR*  
*in English 25 Jun 89 p 6*

[By David Breier, political correspondent]

[Text] Rumours that the National Party [NP] is planning to unveil a dramatic new policy at its federal congress in Pretoria this week have been dismissed by party sources.

The NP's election manifesto, to be announced at Thursday's congress, is likely to bear a strong resemblance to the manifesto which the party used in the 1987 election campaign.

The only changes are expected to reflect developments which took place over the past two years and which are well-known.

For example, the 1987 manifesto assures an "own community life" for all communities, through, amongst others, the maintenance of own schools and residential areas "as far as possible".

This is likely to be amended in the new manifesto to accommodate the concept of free settlement areas which are soon likely to be proclaimed in urban areas.

The frequent references to an "own community life" in the 1987 manifesto are likely to be softened to accommodate the Government's newer approach. The NP now believes in greater freedom of choice for those who want segregation and those who prefer freedom of association.

The NP manifesto is likely to support an "own community life" for those who want it, and share or open communities for those who prefer that.

The new manifesto could also reveal the greater urgency with which the NP leader and President-designate Mr F.W. de Klerk, says he is approaching the need for "drastic" changes to the Constitution to accommodate blacks.

The new manifesto could reflect the need for a completely new constitution to replace the present tricameral one. But the maintenance of group-based rights is likely to remain paramount, although the NP will repeat its 1987 claim that it believes no group should dominate another.

The NP is likely to retain its reference in the 1987 manifesto to "the expansion of the 'own affairs' concept". Mr de Klerk has made frequent reference recently to expanding "own affairs" powers for groups—and he has also proposed that future negotiations be on this basis.

In its 1987 election manifesto, the NP refers to the proposed National Council as precursor to a joint Council of State to formulate policies on matters of common concern.

The new manifesto could refer to the notion of an "indaba" as envisaged by Mr de Klerk.

The 1987 manifesto mentioned the need to achieve a new constitution through negotiation. The party may now go a little further and mention the need to eliminate obstacles to negotiation—as is being discussed in a joint committee involving the Government and Inkatha.

The 1987 manifesto's reference to "full autonomy and even independence for metropolitan areas" sometimes referred to as "city states" could also be dropped. Instead it could be replaced by the proposed regional councils for blacks which have been mooted.

This year's manifesto may also put more emphasis than in 1987 on the evolution of regional services councils and multiracial provincial executives as well as for joint administrations involving the provinces and non-independent homelands.

But the core of Nat thinking on power-sharing is unlikely to be changed. This involves "own affairs" powers on matters of group interest and "general affairs" bodies on matters of joint interest, based on consensus.

Exactly how the Government intends to prevent any race group dominating the crucial general affairs bodies, including the proposed new central parliament or general assembly, is likely to remain unclear.

For the future general affairs parliament will control vital issues such as finance and security.

The South African Government's greatest breakthroughs in the past two years in the international field, could also be reflected in the new manifesto.

The 1987 manifesto aims at "discouraging the deployment of foreign forces which threaten the peace in our region". The new manifesto could reflect the success in negotiating Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

**National Party Issues 5-Year 'Plan of Action'**  
*MB2806132589 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1309 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria, June 28, SAPA—The National Party [NP] has released a plan of action for the next five years in terms of which it aims to seek a mandate from the voters in the September 6 general election.

To be submitted for approval to its extra-ordinary federal congress in Pretoria today (Thursday), notable features include:

- The setting up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new constitutional future.
- A reassessment of the function and powers of the head of state in a new system, and the manner of his election.
- Greater emphasis on freedom of association and of dissociation in group formation.
- Possible acceptance by the NP of a bill of rights as part of a future negotiated constitution.
- A virtual decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act.
- A lowering of personal income tax and company tax.

Addressing a press briefing, the minister of information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the action plan was not a "radical new policy for the NP," but rather a plan of action with the emphasis on a dynamic approach.

Strong emphasis was being put on negotiated formulae.

The idea was to get away from the concept of race as a criterium and to shift from present racially defined groups to culturally defined ones.

The plan of action should be seen in conjunction with the NP's 1987 election manifesto, which remains valid.

The plan of action states as its overall objective that the NP intends to create a new South Africa in which every South African can live in safety, prosperity and dignity, as an individual and within a group.

Such a South Africa must be a democracy in which no group dominates or is dominated; the independence of the judiciary is upheld and honoured; civilised norms apply; a dynamic economic thrives, based on free enterprise; everybody lives in safety and harmony and in good neighbourly relationships with the international community.

**'Democratic Participation by All'**  
*MB2806133089 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1312 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria June 28 SAPA—In terms of its plan, the National Party commits itself to pursue the following key objectives during the next five years in pursuit of Democratic participation by all:

- To promote a set of common values, as a basis for a peaceful political system, without inhibiting the identity of groups.
  - To engage recognised leaders of all groups committed to the pursuit of peaceful solutions in talks and negotiations about the political, social and economic systems for South Africa.
  - To make a definite start, based on these discussion and negotiations, with the setting up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new system.
  - To re-assess the functions and powers of the head of state in a new system, his role or otherwise as head of government, and the manner in which he should be elected.
- As its point of departure, the plan states that the NP believes South Africa is one undivided state with one citizenship for all.

The new political dispensation, in which all people will be represented, must enjoy the greatest possible degree of consensus.

Parliament is the only institution which can ultimately effect amendments to the Constitution.

The National Party also undertakes to place before the electorate any new constitutional principles before such principles are finally implemented.

**Group Rights, Protection Addressed**

*MB2806133589 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1319 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria June 28 SAPA—In its section on "No Domination: Group Protection", the NP plan states that although the party continues to believe that every group should participate as a component in the legislative and executive processes, the present basis in terms of which groups are defined for the purposes of political participation "creates many problems."

It must therefore be revised in a process of negotiation to establish a greater freedom of choice.

The following principles should apply:

—A new basis of definition must be established in a process of negotiation with the leaders of the existing groups.

—Freedom of association and of disassociation must as far as possible be the points of departure.

—A person must be able to change to another group, subject to the consent of the recipient group.

—Provision must also be made for a group for which South African citizenship will be the only qualification. (Seen by commentators as the "Open Group.")

—The right of a group to maintain its own identity and values must be effectively protected.

The plan states that only people and organizations who have a commitment to peace can be allowed to take part in the political process and in negotiations.

The minister of information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, told a press briefing that "we are almost moving away from the meaningless requirement of the renunciation of violence."

The plan lists key objectives as:

—To promote the concept of the peaceful settlement of political disputes.

—To establish the notion that domination, in any form, is not in anybody's interest.

—To promote, by continued action, self-determination regarding own affairs, along with joint decision-making on general affairs, by means of the division and devolution of power in a non-discriminatory manner.

—To inject a new dynamic in seeking agreement on a more just and meaningful basis on which group may be defined for political participation.

Referring to a recent report by the South African Law Commission on group and individual rights, the plan states key objectives as:

—To provide constitutional expression to the protection of human rights (both individual rights and group values), and therefore to consider the advisability of a bill of human rights as part of a future negotiated constitution.

—To give content to overall juridical and structural protection of groups in constitutional structures.

—To call on the government, in the best interests of all the people of South Africa and in order to stimulate the negotiating process among leaders, to instruct credible and independent experts to study all possible constitutional models, and to define the implications, advantages and disadvantages of each model.

**'Strong, Independent Judiciary'**

*MB2806134289 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1320 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria, June 28, SAPA—The plan recommitments the NP to a strong, independent judiciary, and states as key objectives:

—Law reform in the field of common law and procedures must continually and actively be undertaken to ensure that contemporary law will meet the requirements of the country and its peoples, that the credibility of the courts be upheld and that costs of litigation be kept within reasonable limits.

—The jurisdiction of the advocate-general must be reviewed on an on-going basis and adjusted whenever necessary.

**Security Policy Outlined**

*MB2806135489 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1322 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria, June 28, SAPA—The National Party will ensure that a strong Defence Force and police force remain the basis for a strong and just South Africa, according to a tenet of its security plan.

Special measures, such as the regulations proclaimed in terms of the state of emergency, are "temporarily justified" in order to enable the security forces to restore conditions of stability in the interests of normal living conditions and developments.

Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe stressed however that the state of emergency should not be seen as permanent or desirable.

According to the security plan, the NP is dedicated to ensuring that the SAP [South African Police] is "adequately equipped with regard to manpower and resources to enable them to fight crime even more effectively."

The readiness of the SADF [South African Defense Force] will be maintained and continuously monitored in the face of the internal, regional and international threats against South Africa.

Taking into account the security situation, the NP is in favour of limiting the involvement of citizen force and commando members as much as possible, especially as far as annual camps are concerned.

#### **International Objectives Listed**

*MB2806140089 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1325 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria June 28 SAPA—South Africa should "regain its rightful place in the international community," according to the NP's plan of action on international relations.

The key to effecting this is to be found in further progress in the country's programme of development, reform and renewal.

The NP remains strongly opposed to foreign interference in South Africa's domestic affairs and insists that South Africans be allowed to solve the country's problems.

Five-year key objectives are:

—The successful conclusion of the independence process for Namibia;

—The promotion of peace and stability in all the countries in southern Africa, and particularly Angola and Mozambique;

—The promotion of economic cooperation among all the countries of southern Africa; and

—The countering of boycotts and sanctions while working to improve the image of South Africa.

The section concludes: "The NP can be entrusted with the future of South Africa in southern Africa and in the rest of the world because the NP puts South Africa first."

#### **Group Areas Act's Uses Noted**

*MB2806140389 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1335 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria June 28 SAPA—The Group Areas Act will be used to protect own residential areas, until such a time as an effective and generally acceptable measure can be substituted, according to the NP's "plan of action."

The section on social welfare says the act will be applied firmly yet sensitively.

"Instruments" have been created whereby "identified notification points" will be created where transgression of the law can be reported.

The circumstances will be investigated and "an attempt (will be made) to solve the problem without legal intervention, through a process of assistance and negotiation" with the people involved.

A special housing component has already been established in the Department of Land Affairs for this purpose.

"Should cooperation not be forthcoming and after alternative housing, where appropriate, has been made available, prosecution may be instituted."

Discrimination should also be eliminated where public amenities are concerned.

Education should be promoted on all levels, and as a matter which is an own affair and of fundamental importance to own community life.

#### **NP's Magnus Malan Admits Talks Held With DP**

*MB2306113889 Johannesburg The CITIZEN  
in English 23 Jun 89 p 2*

[By Tony Stirling]

[Text] The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night confirmed that a senior member of the National Party [NP] in Modderfontein had recently held discussions with two members of the Democratic Party [DP] but stated categorically that the NP had never proposed any deals.

In his statement, General Malan said the chairman of the NP's divisional council in Modderfontein, Mr Ben Smith, had seen Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton and Mr Brian Goodall, DP candidate for Edenvale, at his home for "confidential talks."

Mr Smith, in his turn, confirmed talking to the two DP members, but said he had not informed Gen Malan or other party members until Wednesday [21 June] because he had respected the confidentiality of the discussions—and had been awaiting a further contact from the two men, after they made certain proposals.

In his statement, Gen Malan challenged the DP to field a candidate in Modderfontein "to remove all doubts over the so-called secret agreement" and to put the whole question into "proper perspective."

He said that for some time reports had been reaching him and Mr Smith from the DP camp. In reaction to a message he had received, Mr Smith had contacted both Mr Goodall and Mr Dalling and spoken to the two men at his home separately.

From conversations with both men it had been clear to Mr Smith that there were serious problems in the DP camp. For example, both DP men had shown extreme sensitivity that any NP campaign on security by the robust NP political machine in Modderfontein would spill over into their neighbouring constituencies—a factor which had cost Mr Goodall his seat in 1987.

Gen Malan said that according to Mr Smith both Mr Dalling and Mr Goodall had given him to understand that they would do their utmost to prevent the DP from nominating a candidate in Modderfontein.

Gen Malan emphasised the following points:

—No request had been made to the DP not to field a candidate in Modderfontein;

—No agreement had been reached with the DP;

—Because of their nature, the talks had been confidential;

—Mr Dalling and Mr Goodall had undertaken to get approval for the talks; and

—The DP's allegations concerning requests purported to have been made to them by Mr Smith was the "disinformation" to which he had referred to in his previous statement—a matter of which the co-leader of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, should take note.

Gen Malan said Modderfontein had a proven track record. In 1987 the NP majority against a combined onslaught from the PFP [Progressive Federal Party], CP [Conservative Party] and HNP [Reformed National Party] had been 5,318—the second highest in the Transvaal.

Over the past few years the constituency had won numerous awards for its successes and organisation at the Transvaal congresses.

"It is, therefore, disinformation and ridiculous to suggest that this constituency should find it necessary to reach any agreement with other political parties," Gen Malan said.

"The success of Modderfontein is among other things the result of very close interaction between myself and Mr Smith," he said.

In response to certain questions arising out of Gen Malan's statement yesterday, which followed a denial of the meeting by him, on Sunday, Mr Smith said that he had acted on his own initiative and under his own authority as chairman of the divisional council in making the contact.

He had done so because of a message received from a constituent, which he had considered sufficiently important to act upon.

After distorted Sunday newspaper reports on the meeting had arisen, he had reason to believe that both men had observed the agreement over confidentiality and that the story had been leaked by an unknown source in the DP.

He had gone into the meetings with the two men without making proposals from his side and had been awaiting further contact from them when the story broke.

It had since become clear from statements by the DP leadership that further contacts from either Mr Goodall or Mr Dalling were out of the question and he had, therefore, decided in the light of circumstances to inform Gen Malan of the full facts, which he had done on Wednesday.

**NP Using 'CP Phobia', Hung Parliament for Votes**  
*MB2506115589 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR*  
*in English 25 Jun 89 p 14*

[By David Breier, political correspondent]

[Text] White voters who are fed up with apartheid are being conned into voting for the party that gave apartheid to the world in the first place—the National Party [NP].

The line which Nat propagandists are feeding to voters in the election campaign is "CP [Conservative Party] phobia".

Election observers believe the NP aims to frighten voters away from the anti-apartheid Democratic Party [DP] by saying: "Vote Nat to keep the Conservative Party out".

The psychology is to persuade voters to vote for the devil they know to prevent an alternative too ghastly to contemplate.

The tactic worked well in a number of seats against the now defunct Progressive Federal Party over the past few years, and the NP believes it will work even better this time against the DP.

The current rhetoric over a "hung Parliament" appears to be playing into Nat hands by increasing "CP phobia".

But a number of commentators have pointed out that the chances of a "hung" House of Assembly, in which no party has a majority after the September 6 elections, is Alice in Wonderland stuff.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, director of IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa], sees the CP remaining the Official Opposition with between 40 and 60 seats.

Professor Hennie Kotze, head of the Political Science Department at the University of Stellenbosch, said the entire scenario was unlikely.

Professor Kotze also pointed out that the NP proportion of MPs would be increased by the four MPs nominated by the State President and the eight indirectly elected by the parties.

He said the NP could make effective propaganda out of the "split vote" issue, telling voters to vote Nat to keep the CP out.

There are 166 elected white seats. Of these the NP in effect has 123, including the three vacancies as a result of recent resignations. The CP has 22 elected seats and the DP in effect has 21 seats.

For the CP to become a real boneyman, the NP would have to win less than 84 seats—losing a stunning 39 seats in the process to the CP and DP in a swing that would make 1948 look mild by comparison.

But Dr Denis Worrall, DP co-leader, is running hard with the hung-Parliament idea. If three-cornered contests result in the CP capturing more seats, so be it, he says.

He says that with a hung House of Assembly, the NP would have to sit down and talk to the DP on a day-to-day basis.

But there were warnings this week that in the highly unlikely event of a hung Parliament, a CP-controlled government was more likely than one in which the DP calls the shots.

The CP itself believes a hung Parliament would cause the NP to split and the CP could win the day. The CP believes the destruction of the NP will pave the way for long-term CP rule and the strengthening of apartheid.

Professor Hermann Giliomee, the Cape political scientist, pointed out this week that 20 percent of Nat MPs are *verkramp* [ultraconservative] at heart and would cross the floor to the CP in the event of NP-DP co-operation.

If there was such a crossing of the floor, he quotes Professor Lawrie Schelemmer as estimating that up to 40 percent of NP voters would swing to the CP in the following election and the CP could then win power.

Professor Giliomee believes that those who believe a major setback for the NP could lead to a broad based genuinely-reformist party in incorporating the best of NP and DP, are taking "very high risks".

He urged the DP to reconsider its strategy to fight three cornered contests with circumspection and "humility".

Dr Worrall retorted that the likelihood of the CP becoming the majority with at least 84 seats was "virtually a mathematical and political impossibility".

He believes it is "almost as improbable" that in a hung Parliament enough Nat MPs will join the CP to give it the majority.

Dr Worrall backs this by saying that in a hung Parliament the NP right wing in the *platteland* [rural area] "will have been massacred". The remaining Nat MPs would be more amenable to opening up to the DP.

But Professor Giliomee told the SUNDAY STAR that it was simplistic to suggest Nat *platteland* MPs were necessarily more *verkramp* than urban Nat MPs.

Also the DP was not a factor in the *platteland* anyway but could split the vote in the urban areas, notably the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vaal]. This could result in urban Nat MPs losing their seats to the CP on a split vote if the DP stood in certain seats.

Professor Giliomee made the point that the process of erosion in the NP could result in a later CP victory.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, a CP spokesman, said: "A hung Parliament is a certainty", and the predicted this would cause the NP to collapse.

"We see it as a logical development in South African party politics. South Africa is traditionally a two-party system and there has never been place for a party in the middle. That is what is happening to the NP now. They are trying to find a place in the middle and there is no room for them.

"The tradition is to have two sides—separatists and integrationists. That is why the other two parties are growing.

"When you have a hung Parliament, then the most important effect is that it is attacked by both of these two sides. One of these two will be the governing party."

But Dr Worrall told the SUNDAY STAR that the CP was talking "nonsense". "The NP is going the other way," he said, predicting the NP in a hung Parliament would form a coalition with the DP.

Dr Worrall said the DP would put up candidates wherever it wanted to "even if this may result in a CP win".

"We are not prepared to do any deals," he said, adding that the DP was the party of the future.

Dr Worrall said the DP sensed change and excitement which has not existed since 1948.

**Editorial on NP 'Cliches,' Western Gullibility**  
*MB2406075989 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English*  
23-29 Jun 89 p 6

[Editorial: "Western Governments Still Giving Apartheid A Chance"]

[Text] This week F.W. de Klerk brought out the old, worn-out script of National Party leaders: a new constitution is in the pipeline, Mandela will be released, and reform speeded up.

We do not believe European leaders can genuinely be taken in by this in the face of stark evidence to the contrary.

We are sick to the gut from all the cliches which are periodically churned out by the Nationalists.

We are sick, too, of European leaders who are all too willing to be hoodwinked by this government.

It boggles the mind that, despite all the violence and hardship this regime has subjected our people to, its leaders are still feted and dined by Western leaders.

"Give South Africa a chance," is the new rallying cry of Western governments. And this chance is given at a terrible cost to our people.

The space which is being given to this government will worsen the situation in South Africa. It will sharpen the conflict and cost more lives, with no peace for anyone neither the majority nor the minority.

Anybody who argues, as De Klerk does, that group rights are inviolable, cannot be serious about introducing fundamental change in this country.

**Helen Suzman Delivers 'Final Report Back Meeting'**  
*MB2606151889 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1516 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 27 SAPA [dateline as received]—The Democratic Party [DP] would face a monumental task in the future as the cornerstones of apartheid remained firmly in place, the outgoing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said in Johannesburg tonight.

Speaking during her 38th and final report back meeting, she said National Party leader F.W. de Klerk's goal to have "a South Africa free of domination or oppression in whatever form"—was meaningless unless the apartheid laws were repealed.

She said the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Acts remained firmly in place.

"Until these go, and until blacks are able to vote for the parliament that makes the laws that govern their lives; and until the absurd concept of own affairs and general affairs is abandoned, De Klerk's fine sounding phrase outlining his goal to be 'a South Africa free of domination or oppression in any form—a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa', is meaningless."

She said there was a strong tide running in favour of the Democratic Party.

"There is the inflation which has eroded savings and is making it extremely difficult for people in the lower and middle income groups to maintain standards of living; there is the shocking revelation of corruption in high places and there is the anger of the public at government extravagance and over-spending."

There was also the threat of future international isolation and punitive sanctions which had resulted from government policies.

This, she said, was a factor which Mr de Klerk would have been appraised of in no uncertain terms when he met British PM [prime minister] Mrs Margaret Thatcher and other European leaders last week, especially in the wake of the recent elections for the European Parliament.

However, she said there were also factors against the DP, such as the fear of the Conservative Party [CP]—"The Vote Nat To Keep The CP Out" propaganda, forgetting that the lesser of two evils is still an evil".

There was also the "let's give the new state president a chance" syndrome, as Mr de Klerk executed his takeover from Mr P.W. Botha as state president and as the National Party highlighted reform in its election propaganda.

Furthermore, there was the rejection by many white voters of the policies advocated by the DP, such as the aim of a non-racial democracy in South Africa with franchise for all adults, and no discriminatory legislation.

The so-called "public imperative" for the merger of the Progressive Federal Party [PFP] into the DP, together with the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, was something "which many people believe to be necessary".

However, she said the PFP had a rightful claim to be thoroughly proud of the role it had played in opposition politics.

**Further on Suzman's Final Session**  
*MB2606183889 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1638 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 26 SAPA—State President Mr P.W. Botha's resignation as leader of the National Party left Mr F.W. de Klerk "holding the baby but with no authority to train it", the outgoing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said tonight.

Outlining the events of the 1989 parliamentary session, she said more had happened outside Parliament than in it.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse had, however, made his mark by refusing to pass a bill which would have postponed the general election until 1992, and the sun had set on the vast empire built up by the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who retired towards the end of the session.

The bill which Mr Hendrickse had refused to pass would also have allowed for the increase in the number of MP's, so that if a new delimitation was held, the NP would retain its Cape stronghold of 56 seats, even though the Transvaal would gain further seats.

Turning to Mr Heunis, she said he had bungled things in Parliament ever since the Helderberg election in 1987.

Mr Hendrickse had forced the recall of Parliament last year when Mr Heunis tried to make Group Areas an own affairs bill. Then Mr Heunis' National Council bill was rejected. The House of Representatives refused to approve his vote in the budget, and the Presidents Council had to consider two versions of the budget, the one agreed to by the Assembly and the other rejected by the House of Representatives.

"All in all, a bad time for Mr Heunis. He has, not surprisingly, given up the unequal struggle".

Five ministers had announced their "disappearance, some voluntarily, others by force majeure, so to speak" during the 1989 session.

She said there had always been a turnover of about one-third of the total number of MP's at each general election—and September 6 would be no exception.

A few important bills were passed, two of these being the foreign funding bill and a bill to revalidate the inclusion of Moutse into Kwandebile and Botshabelo into Qwaqwa. These measures were strenuously opposed, since both Botshabelo and Moutse had not only opposed their inclusion into those two homelands, but had also actually won court cases which had invalidated similar bills previously passed by the government.

She said these bills were particularly offensive because they eroded the authority of the courts and were made retrospective.

A bill in which Mrs Suzman took particular interest was one which made rape by a husband on his wife a punishable offence. The law commission had recommended this unequivocally, and she and MP, Mr Dave Dalling had both endorsed the recommendations.

"However, there was no support for us, except from the Conservative Party, interestingly enough, and in the end the bill watered down very considerably".

She heartily welcomed the law commission's recommendation for a bill of rights for South Africa.

**Democratic Party's Worrall Views Election Issues**  
MB2206105089 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 22 Jun 89 p 8

["A Hung Parliament Means an Opportunity for the Left" by Democratic Party (DP) coleader Denis Worrall]

[Text] Bernard Donoughue, in his book "Prime Minister," writes of "the slow but irresistible tide of public opinion".

He tells how, in 1979, James Callaghan told him: "There are times, perhaps every 30 years, when there is a sea-change in politics. It then does not matter what you say or what you do. There is a shift in what the public wants and what it approves of. I suspect that there is now such a sea-change—and it is for Mrs Thatcher."

If this is what Hermann Giliomee is referring to above, then I believe this is correct.

My fellow Democrats and I who have been travelling the country can confirm this. The tide has turned against the National Party [NP]. Economics is the main reason.

But another reason, as Pik Botha seemed to insinuate after the Linden result, is the NP government's lack of credibility when it comes to constitutional reform.

F.W. de Klerk may talk about new constitutions, but nobody is taking him seriously. They have heard it all before. This attitude is very evident in DP house meetings of Afrikaners. On the one hand, there is no real serious interest in what the NP has to offer, on the other hand, there is a feeling that it has run out of idealism.

By contrast, DP meetings in the cities and on the platteland [rural areas] have been extremely well attended. We are drawing a high calibre of candidate for nomination. And as the DP triumph in the Linden by-election showed, the DP can draw its share of Afrikaans-speaking votes.

Recent polls showed that the DP has grown encouragingly. At the time of the dissolution of the three parties, we had 21 percent of the electorate. In early June, only six weeks after the launch of the party and before the Linden by-election, the DP had 26 percent of the electorate.

The coming general election could be a watershed one.

For this reason, the DP has decided to put up candidates on as wide a basis as our resources will allow. We regard ourselves as the party of the future. We should be building an infrastructure now.

In our view, it is important that people be given the chance of voting their convictions to show black fellow-South Africans just how many whites share their commitment to a nonracial future. It is also important that international bankers and investors see the potential for change in the South African situation.

The election, as far as the DP is concerned, could have three outcomes. The DP could be the majority party (unlikely). It could emerge as the official Opposition. Or we could have a hung parliament with no party having an overall majority.

Of the three, a hung parliament is becoming an increasing likelihood. While this analysis coincides up to this point with Giliomee's, here we diverge.

The likelihood of the CP actually gaining majority party status (in other words, getting the magic 84 seats) is virtually a mathematical and political impossibility, in the eventuality of a hung parliament, of the National Party splitting and sufficient NP MPs joining the CP to give it the necessary majority to govern.

This is extremely unlikely because of the paradox that, with a hung parliament, the rightwing of the NP will be massacred. While some verligte [enlightened] members of the NP may lose their seats, the real losers to the CP will be on the platteland and will include the more verkrampte [ultraconservative] elements of the NP.

The fallacy in Giliomee's scenario is the assumption that the NP caucus will be the same in a hung parliament as it is with its present 103 members.

The NP caucus in a hung parliament would be more flexible and more amenable to opening up to the DP.

Certainly, the CP will not be interested in any kind of compromise arrangement with what is left of the NP. Dr Treurnicht spurned the last offer of co-operation from President Botha and that will consistently be their attitude.

Giliomee's scenario is mistaken, and his advice to the DP to exercise humility and adopt a cautious approach is psychologically unfortunate.

The one glimmer of hope of breaking the logjam of white politics lies in a hung parliament. If the NP comes back with 90 seats, De Klerk will be terrified to act because of pressure from his caucus.

With a hung parliament (in other words, the NP comes back with less than 83 seats), the NP would have to sit down and talk to the DP on a day-to-day basis.

Our attitude is clear. The DP is going for power on September 6. We have a simple message. The NP was an effective party of the first era of our politics—an era in which white interests predominated.

We are into a new era—an era in which the interests of all South Africans must be taken into account. And the NP is part of the problem.

**DP's Egin on De Klerk's Apartheid 'Guise'**  
*MB2306090089 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 21 Jun 89 p 5*

[Text] The leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, who was clearly to the right of the party's former Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis, was committed to apartheid under the guise of "own affairs", the Democratic Party [DP] MP for Sea Point, Mr Colin Egin, said last night.

"To Mr de Klerk, this form of apartheid in local government, in schools, in housing, in hospitals is fundamental," he said at the launch of the DP campaigns in Sea Point and Green Point.

"He wants apartheid under the name of 'own affairs' strengthened, not eliminated."

Mr Egin said he had reached these conclusions after sitting opposite Mr de Klerk in Parliament for many years, serving on the select committee which paved the way for the 1983 tricameral constitution and studying his speeches.

It had become clear to him that Mr de Klerk was to the "right" of Mr Heunis, who retires as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning on July 1, although he could give the assurance that Mr Heunis was not any way to the "left".

What was needed from Mr de Klerk was not speeches with singing phrases or a smiling, reassuring style but the courage to break with the past.

"If he fails to do this, he will fail as others have failed before him and the problems of our country will drag on."

Mr Egin wanted to know whether Mr de Klerk would keep the Group Areas Act or whether he would scrap the Population Registration Act.

**Democratic Party Views Possible Hung Parliament**  
*MB1806112889 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 17 Jun 89 p 6*

[By Patrick Laurence]

[Text] Many member of the Democratic Party [DP] and their supporters now appear to be having increasing misgivings about the prospect of a hung Parliament after the September 6 elections.

A bare three months ago, any suggestion of a hung Parliament—one in which the ruling National Party [NP] would lose its overall majority in the House of Assembly—was so improbable as not to merit serious thought.

But several factors since then have made it a possibility, though perhaps not yet a probability.

They include: the resignation or scheduled resignation of a third of the Cabinet, suggesting a damaging image of nervous men abandoning a sinking ship, and last week's Linden municipal by-election result, where the DP turned a NP majority of a 394 last year into a DP majority of 390.

The high hopes of more aggressively-minded DP loyalists that Linden portended a hung Parliament, in which the NP would have to make a deal with the DP to stay in power, are echoed by NP-supporting Afrikaans newspaper, DIE TRANSVALER. It speaks openly of the possibility of the NP not winning an overall Assembly majority.

But instead of being excited at the prospect of a hung Parliament, some less intrepid DP supporters react cautiously, emphasising the dangers of the NP turning to the Conservative Party [CP] to stay in power rather than forging an alliance with the DP.

These manifestations of intellectual pessimism, if not timidity, are not shared by the DP men in the frontline: its leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, and its three national co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer.

Mr Leon's comments are perhaps particularly pertinent because, as he notes, there is the local equipment of a hung Parliament in the Johannesburg City Council.

With 24 seats in the 51-member city council, the NP does not have an overall majority and is forced to forge alliances to stay in power.

Combative Mr Leon does not fear a NP-CP deal in the event of a hung Parliament. His reservations of the intensity of the NP-CP "broedertwis" [alliance pact] in the city council make, for him, the prospect of such a coalition "implausible to the point of improbability".

Nor does he fear the DP being swallowed by the NP in the event of a NP-DP coalition, provided the DP is clear about its policies and principles.

He is confident that it is.

The NP, he argues, hoisting up the flag of ideological surrender. "It is going to the election saying, 'We want a new constitution'. The 1983 referendum was about a new constitution. The 1987 election was fought on that constitution. Now, a few years later, it is still saying, 'We want a new constitution'."

Mr Wynand Malan is not haunted by anxieties of a NP-CP deal either, nor of massive defections from NP ranks to the CP in the event of a hung Parliament which he says is now "certainly a possibility".

A member of the NP caucus until 1987, Mr Malan has no doubt that most Nat MPs know in their hearts that there can be no return to the Verwoerdian past espoused by the CP. "I have no doubt that they will turn to the DP," he says.

More cautious members of the DP, who grow anxious at any thought of a hung Parliament and a "blood-is-thicker-than-water" axis between the NP and CP, are making deductions from an outdated premise.

In the final analysis, says Mr Malan, the real struggle in the white community is between the NP and the CP and the NP is preferable as the "lesser of two evils".

But, he says, that is like opting for a heart attack instead of cancer when health is available.

Dr Worrall sees three theoretical targets for the DP in the pending election: outright victory, securing a hung Parliament, or becoming the official Opposition.

He concedes that a DP victory is unlikely. But a hung Parliament is not. It is the "next best option" to power; it should be sought energetically because then "you are into a new alignment".

But, Dr Worrall reasons: aiming for a hung Parliament is incompatible with striving to become the official Opposition.

A hung Parliament implies that the DP should fight on as wide as possible, even if it means running the very real risk of CP victories in some seats by splitting the anti-CP vote.

Securing enough seats to become the official Opposition means being very careful not to fight seats if DP participation might open the door for the CP in a three-cornered contest.

Dr Worrall is critical of the more faint-hearted members of the DP who, nurtured by long years in opposition, cannot think beyond a paradigm in which the DP is the main opposition.

"They have an Opposition mentality," he says.

Their thinking, he explains, is shaped by an unconscious assumption that they have a "divine right to be in Opposition".

He wants to chivy them out of that negative state of mind.

Dr de Beer, however, is more circumspect about the implications of a hung Parliament.

"If the CP is the dominant Opposition party, it becomes less certain whether the outcome would be desirable," he says.

"It depends on the precise numbers, by what margin it is hung and how the Opposition strength divides.

"Therefore, I am a little disposed not to discuss it in any detail, not on the record anyhow.

"There are dangers that one makes false assumptions.

"What is clearly desirable is that the DP has got to win more seats.

"Every extra seat the DP wins has got to be a good thing.

"I would rather concentrate on that, so that we can built up our strength to the maximum possible extent."

**DP Undecided on Delegates, Representatives**  
*MB1806121289 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR*  
*in English 18 Jun 89 p 2*

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] will be faced with one of its hardest decisions this week when its executive committee meets to decide whether to field candidates for the House of Delegates and Representatives.

At stake is the fragile, but tempting, proposed national coalition the DP hopes to form with extra-parliamentary organisations, including the UDF [United Democratic Front].

In a discussion paper released this week, the UDF-affiliated Natal Indian Congress said the aim of the alliance would be to strengthen white opposition, and discredit the Houses of Delegates and Representatives from within the system.

"What is critical ... is that they the DP must be drawn positively into the struggle for freedom with the mass democratic movement," the paper says.

Stressing that the document was a discussion paper, UDF acting general secretary Mr Mohamed Valli said it did not reflect a position of any UDF affiliates as such.

He said the DP was faced with the challenge of distancing itself in "the eyes of the masses from the regime and its puppet".

Should the DP decide to field candidates in the tricameral Houses, it stands to lose its standing in the eyes of the mass democratic movement. It might even be faced with a boycott of its candidates in white constituencies. Fielding candidates in the House of Representatives could also mean the DP losing the support of the Labour Party, which is against the DP standing in what it considers its own domain.

If the DP decides not to field candidates it will be failing in its duty to support some coloured and Indian MPs—its own party members—who are poised to stand.

UDF official and Transvaal Indian Congress member Mr Cassim Saloojee warned: "Fielding candidates in the Houses of Delegates into election pacts with political parties, would seriously damage the image of the DP".

But DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan believes the party's overall image would not be severely affected if it decides to field candidates for the two Houses. "I accept that it will damage our image with their (the mass democratic movement) constituency, but it will certainly not damage our overall image," Mr Malan said.

He said the DP's approach was to develop a broader forum that would include other political groupings in working out a new constitution outside of apartheid.

Mr Saloojee said that should the DP choose to participate, it would "inadvertently sharpen the differences between the DP and the mass democratic movement.

"The Houses of Delegates and Representatives serve as a mechanism to co-opt and insulate resistance to NP [National Party] rule from the Indian and coloured communities, and because participants do not have genuine mandates they are susceptible to constant changes of loyalty—particularly when F.W. de Klerk dangles a carrot," he said.

"The DP has nothing to gain from accepting MPs who are discredited in their communities."

It would be a fatal mistake for the DP to underestimate the deep feeling of rejection of the tricameral system in the Indian and coloured communities, he said.

The DP faces a rebellion among its Indian members over the party's reluctance to put up more candidates in the House of Delegates, writes John MacLennan.

These organisations are against participating in the coloured and Indian Houses and plan to persuade the DP to drop support for its three Indian MPs in the House of Delegates and three sitting MPs in the House of Representatives.

This week it appeared that the DP's most senior Indian politician, Mr Pat Poovalingam, is set on forcing a showdown on the issue. He disclosed that he had received permission from all three DP leaders to enrol members and said 1,500 were now organised under 21 constituency committees in Natal.

A source said up to 14 candidates would be put up—in direct contrast with a previous DP decision not to support more candidates in the House of Delegates.

Mr Poovalingam has warned that the UDF is trying to seduce the DP with talk of a coalition and that this could be a clever attempt to split the party on racial lines.

## Democratic Party Chooses Election Candidates

### Zach de Beer To Run in Parktown

MB1406115089 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1100 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Democratic Party [DP] Coleader Zach de Beer has been nominated as the DP candidate in the Parktown constituency in Johannesburg. He was the member of Parliament for Parktown from 1977 to 1980.

### Tony Leon To Run for Houghton Seat

MB2406142289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1419 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SAPA—Mr Tony Leon has been nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate in the Houghton constituency for the September 6 elections.

Mr Leon, 32, who is a Johannesburg city councillor and a qualified attorney, will replace Mrs Helen Suzman, who retired after 37 years as a member of Parliament. The DP also announced that Dr Theunis de Bruin, 34, a Florida general practitioner, will represent the party in Helderkrui.

### Natal Candidates Chosen

MB1506102289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0746 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Durban June 16 SAPA—Four Natal House of Assembly seats—Durban Point, South Coast, Umbilo and Umhlanga—turned into tough three-way fights last night when the Democratic Party decided on nine more of its candidates to stand in September.

The DP candidates chosen last night were Major General Wally Black in South Coast, Mr Warwick Webber in Durban Point, TV personality Mrs Carole Charlewood in Umbilo, constitutional expert Mr Kobus Jordaan in Umhlanga, Mr Oliff D'Oliveira in Umfolozi, Mr Dave Upfold in Umhlatuzana, Mr Peter Gastrow MP in Durban Central, Mr Mike Ellis MP in Durban North and Mr Roger Burrows MP in Pinetown.

It was decided earlier in the week that Dr Denis Worrall would stand for the party in Berea. DP candidates have still to be picked in Amanzimtoti, Port Natal and Umlazi.

Hopeful candidates and members of the party's nomination electoral colleges met for five and a half hours in Durban last night, with Mr Malcolm Wallis, SC [senior counsel], as chairman.

The DP have their eyes set firmly on winning Durban Point, South Coast, Umhlanga and Umbilo which are presently held by the National Party [NP]. The Conservative Party [CP] has already announced its candidates in the four seats, and this makes the NP majorities vulnerable.

Former South African Air Force officer Major-General Wally Black, who was the only person put forward for the South Coast nomination said: "I learned early in my career in the Defence Force that you have to win. There is no prize for coming second and I intend to win this one."

This is the first time Major-General Black is standing. South Coast is held by Mr Aubrey Thompson with a 1,419 majority. The CP leader in Natal, Mr Faan Besters is to stand as well.

Mrs Charlewood was thrilled to win the Umbilo nomination from five other nominees: "This is what I want. It is a tremendous honour. It is a wonderful constituency."

Umbilo as an area interested her as she was interested in the plight of elderly people, people on fixed incomes, and people living in sub-economic areas.

"I want to be in a constituency where there are real issues."

Mrs Charlewood will move to Durban after she has gone back to the Transvaal to "pick up some clothes". She will also leave the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] today. She resigned from the SABC three months ago, but stayed on on a day-to-day basis on the understanding that immediately she became an election candidate she would leave. "I leave work tomorrow," she said last night.

This is her first election and she is up against Mr Piet Matthee of the National Party (480 majority) and Mr Carl Werth of the Conservative Party.

Mrs Charlewood said she was approached by many constituencies, but she put in a nomination only for Umbilo.

DP regional leader, Mr Mike Ellis, said the party did not see this as importing outside talent, but rather as choosing the best candidate for the job in the democratic process.

Former United Party and New Republic Party stalwart Mr Webber has fought six elections, and won three. Durban Point, he said, "is a winnable seat. We are going to win it. We are going to work it."

Mr Webber is constituency committee chairman of Greytown. He will hand over to his vice-chairmen within days and then begin working in Durban Point. He takes on Mr Cliff Matthee of the NP, who has a 1,230 majority and Mr Ashley Clark of the CP.

The NP's Mr Renier Schoeman holds Umhlanga with a 557 majority. The DP are pleased with themselves for having secured Mr Jordaan. He is a former NP candidate, and was one of the government's top constitutional experts.

### Further Candidates Named

MB2506142289 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 25 Jun 89 p 2

[By Charmain Naidoo]

[Text] The election campaign hotted up yesterday with two key political figures swapping parties in a marginal constituency.

Randburg NP [National Party] council member Piet Pieters crossed the floor to join the DP saying he had a problem with the NP's inability to find direction "as a result of its limiting framework of racial ideas".

And, in a surprise move, Mr Gert van der Linde—he was chairman of DP joint leader Wynand Malan's 1987 election campaign—quit the DP to rejoin the NP.

He gave his reasons for leaving: "Wynand Malan gave me his word in 1987 that he firmly undertook not to associate with PFP [Progressive Federal Party] policy. Now he is one of their leaders and commander of the DP's socialist, radical leftwing."

Mr van der Linde has thrown his support behind NP candidate for Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb.

Yesterday, Tony Leon was nominated as DP candidate in veteran Helen Suzman's Houghton. Mr Leon, leader of the DP in the Johannesburg City Council, "walked" the nomination contest.

Mrs Irene Menell, tipped initially as Mrs Suzman's favoured successor, was the loser. She said: "Of course, I'm sorry. But I will continue to work where I am needed in the DP. We're a new party and need to use all our resources well."

A delighted Mr Leon said: "It's a great honor to be standing in Helen Suzman's old seat."

In Port Elizabeth, the DP announced that former chief of the South African Air Force, General Bob Rogers, would be its candidate for the NP-held seat of Walmer.

It's likely that the candidature of General Rogers, a Korean War hero, will defuse accusations that the DP is soft on security issues.

The NP won Walmer in 1987, but the sitting MP, Professor Ernst Schoeman, former rector at Port Elizabeth university, has retired.

General Rogers said yesterday that he had noticed a "strong surge" in support for the DP in Knysna, where he lives and serves on the town council.

"A lot of people have come forward and said: 'Thank God, I can vote again,'" he said.

With just over two months to the general election, campaigning will now begin in earnest.

The DP announced its nominated candidates yesterday:

HILLBROW: Johannesburg city councillor Lester Fuchs. A 32-year-old attorney, he lives in Hillbrow;

FLORIDA: Management consultant Norman McFarlane, 33. He and his wife, Elspeth, and two daughters live in Florida;

NORTH RAND: Louis de Wall, 37. The executive director of a car rental company, Mr de Waal, his wife Irene and two sons live in Bryanston;

BEZUIDENHOUT: Geoff Engel, 33 executive director of Gallo Africa;

HELDERKRUIN: Dr Theunis de Bruin, 34-year-old practising GP [general practitioner] in the Florida area. He, his wife and two daughters live in Florida Hills.

**HNP Leader Responds to AWB's Terreblanche**  
MB1706165889 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] Herstigte Nasionale [Reformed National] Party [HNP] leader Jaap Marais says he is prepared to appear in public at the earliest possible opportunity with Conservative Party [CP] and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] leaders to state HNP policy, in answer to Mr Eugene Terreblanche's call for a united front.

The HNP executive committee said in a statement today that Mr Marais will present the facts about the CP's offer of certain constituencies and the HNP's rejection of this. The executive committee says it welcomes a possible consolidation of forces to the right of the government.

**Favors 'Broad' AWB Election Front**  
MB2306100589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1001 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria June 23 SAPA—The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale [Reformed National] Party (HNP), Mr Jaap Marais, said today he was in favour of a broad election front with Mr Eugene Terreblanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), pending talks he would be having next week with Mr Terreblanche.

Mr Marais said he would propose to the HNP divisional committee in Rustenburg that it decide in principle at its meeting tonight not to put up a candidate in Rustenburg in the 6 September general election, pending such a broad agreement being reached between the leaderships next week.

HNP leader said the meeting would take place towards the middle of the week.

The meeting would have to have "executive authority" to take decisions.

Mr Marais pointed out that he had called before the 1987 general election for a broad front (volksfront) to the right of the National Party.

"I then said if the AWB were to decide to enter parliamentary politics, we could have an agreement that it be allowed to put up candidates.

"It is therefore just logical that we would support such a thing," Mr Marais said.

Mr Terreblanche yesterday reaffirmed his resolve to stand in Rustenburg—with the support of six town councillors expelled from the Conservative Party (CP), including the mayor and deputy mayor.

It is therefore almost certain that an election alliance will be struck between the AWB and HNP next week, which will split white right-wing politics in two clear camps—CP and AWB/HNP.

#### **HNP Not To Challenge Terreblanche**

MB2406050589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2341 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—The Herstige Nasionale Party announced tonight it would not field a candidate in the Rustenburg constituency if AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche stood there in the upcoming Sept 6 election.

The HNP's divisional committee in Rustenburg decided tonight their party's candidate would be withdrawn should Mr Terreblanche stand there.

The AWB leader has already announced an intention to stand in Rustenburg—a move, observers say, that poses a threat to right wing unity.

HNP National Secretary Louis van der Schyff said tonight the committee had decided to back their candidate down so as not to split the rightist front. He also said HNP leader Jaap Marais and Mr Terreblanche would be meeting in next few days to discuss an alliance, but stressed no agreement between the AWB and the HNP had been reached yet.

Mr Marais said later his party was not withdrawing its candidate "at this stage" but would do so in support of Mr Terreblanche. He added it "all depended on this week's negotiations," but he would not reveal the date of his meeting with the AWB leader.

#### **CP Figure on 'Astounding' Herman Cohen Statements** MB2306202589 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2021 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria June 23 SAPA—Statements made by the [U.S.] under secretary of state for African affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, on the eve of Mr F.W. de Klerk's visit to the United States were not only astounding but also very interesting, the Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Tom Langley, said today.

In a statement today, he said Mr Cohen had claimed that after the election on September 6, the new South African Government would be making some "interesting proposals."

"This is astounding in the sense that he already seems to have information about the National Party's [NP] reform plans before Parliament and the voters have been told about them.

"It creates the suspicion that plans were being made against the whites internationally with the enthusiastic support of Mr de Klerk."

He challenged the NP to inform the voters of South Africa before September 6 exactly what promises it had made and what expectations it had created overseas.

#### **BBB Party Leader's Restriction Under Review**

MB2506125089 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 25 Jun 89 p 4

[By David Capel]

[Text] The restriction order on the leader of the extremist Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging [White Liberation Movement] (BBB) is under review, prompting critics to accuse the Government of having one set of rules for the right wing and another for the left.

Professor Johan Schabert, a man who believes Adolf Hitler's cause was just and that the holocaust never happened, was restricted and the BBB effectively banned seven months ago.

Yesterday Prof Schabert told the SUNDAY STAR he had been informed by a senior police officer that his order had been lifted. But Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the matter had not yet been finalised. Professor Schabert was restricted to the magisterial district of Brits in November and prevented from attending meetings of more than 10 people. He was also prohibited from speaking to the media and from compiling material for publication.

The BBB was the first right-wing organisation to be curtailed in this way.

Brig Mellet said Prof Schabert had asked for a meeting with Mr Vlok, which had been set down for Tuesday. He confirmed that Professor Schabert's restriction order had lapsed with the last state of emergency and that a new order had not yet been signed, pending his meeting with Mr Vlok.

"This is not to say the order will not be reimposed. No decision has been taken yet," Brig Mellet said.

Professor Schabert said he had been informed by a Brig Jaap Burger that if his name did not appear on the latest list of restricted people, it meant his order had been lifted. He said he had applied for a meeting with Mr Vlok, but was surprised to hear it had been set down for Tuesday. Professor Schabert said he intended entering right-wing party politics, where he believed he could be a "catalyst" for unity talks among the various factions.

He said he was "working on getting the BBB unbanned" and that he would have to convince the Government that the BBB would "carry on on the political level".

Mr Tian van der Merwe, Democratic Party spokesman on law and order, said his party was fundamentally opposed to administrative action against people and that Professor Schabert's restriction order should be lifted.

Mr van der Merwe said, however, the Government had never been even-handed in dealing with its political opponents on the left and right. There were many people on the left who were more deserving of having their restriction orders lifted. Mr Peter Leon, chairman of the Johannesburg chapter of Lawyers for Human Rights, said that if Prof Schabert's order had been lifted it was "shocking".

He said the government seemed to have one set of rules for the right wing and another for the left. This was proved by the Government's hesitancy in prosecuting right-wing offenders and in its weak attitude towards the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. Mr Leon said if Professor Schabert's order had been lifted it might be an election ploy to win back right-wing voters.

**Durban Peace Talks 'Intense,' 'Constructive'**  
MB1906160489 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1553 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Durban, June 18, SAPA [dateline as received]—Today's Inkatha-UDF/COSATU [United Democratic Front/Congress of South African Trade Unions] "peace" talks in Durban were indecisive and are to be followed-up by a further meeting "shortly."

This emerged today in a brief statement signed on behalf of the Inkatha movement by its secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Mr Murphy Morobe on behalf of the UDF, and Mr Jay Naidoo of COSATU.

The ten delegates who made up today's meeting—five from each side—declined to hold a press conference at the conclusion of their talks, which lasted about five hours.

The delegates—Dr Dhlomo; co-KwaZulu cabinet minister Dr Frank Mdlalose; Deputy-Minister Mr V.B. Ndhlovu; Youth Brigade leader Mr K.M. Zondi; and Central Committee member Mr N. Nkehle, who represented Inkatha; and COSATU/UDF's Mr Jay Naidoo; General Secretary Mr Murphy Morobe; Publicity Secretary UDF, Mr Diliza Mij; president of the National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa, Mr Alec Erwin; education officer of the National Union of Metalworkers, and COSATU representative in Pietermaritzburg Mr Sipho Gcabashe—brushed past pressmen, ignoring inquiries whether there would be a press conference.

According to the statement issued after today's sessions, "the discussions were intense and wide-ranging." A full report is being worked on "which will be presented to our respective organisations/presidents."

And the delegates endorsed that the meeting wished to reiterate calls already made by "our respective leaders" that there must be an end to "this senseless violence tearing our communities apart" (in Natal).

The statement said that "we further agreed that towards attaining peace there must be:

- "Freedom of association.
- "Freedom of expression of one's political views or affiliations.
- "Freedom of residence, regardless of one's political views or affiliations."

It continued: "We commit ourselves to a process that would begin to expose and isolate all those elements that we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence among our people.

"We believe that all our efforts must be directed towards uniting our people in a way which would decisively strike a blow against apartheid, and not our people."

And the joint statement described the deliberations as having been in the most "constructive spirit which it is hoped can manifest itself throughout our communities."

The talks took place between 11.30am and 4.30pm, with a short break for lunch—and there was tight security in the hotel where the meeting was held.

Three of the five UDF-COSATU delegates arrived first and were followed by the Inkatha team. Later, two other UDF/COSATU members completed the list of delegates. Hotel security manager Mr Frank Sharkey told pressmen that he had been instructed to keep the media away from the delegates.

The first session of talks lasted from 11.30am-1.15pm, when a lunch break was taken.

The two delegations then met separately for about 30 minutes, apparently in order for the talks so far to be analysed and, according to one source, so that Inkatha chief and KwaZulu chief minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as COSATU and the UDF leaders based outside Durban, could be informed of the trend of the meeting. The meeting then reassembled about 2.20pm and lasted through until 4.30.

The official statement was then handed to waiting journalists, and the delegates left the hotel—again under tight security—and again, as they had arrived, separately.

#### **Buthelezi Makes Recommendations**

*MB1906180189 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1751 GMT 19 Jun 89*

[Text] Durban, June 19, SAPA—Chief minister of Kwa-Zulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today called on the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front to stop insulting Inkatha by calling it a central element in the apartheid system. He said this in a memorandum for a meeting in Durban between representatives of Inkatha and COSATU and the UDF about peace initiatives.

"You can criticise Inkatha for being wrong, you can slam it for blundering, but if you want to talk to Inkatha then stop insulting it (Inkatha) by calling it a central element in the apartheid system."

He said Inkatha had been shunned and "treated as a leper" at the launching of the UDF and COSATU, and a deliberate effort had been made to "exclude Inkatha from all decent communities of man."

"COSATU and the UDF have to sort out their priorities. We have to put the objectives of peace above party political interests and we in Inkatha must be assured that the UDF and COSATU want to deal with us honourably, straightforwardly and openly."

Chief Buthelezi referred to an article published on June 5 in a COSATU/UDF-funded publication, "NEW AFRICAN" which had launched a vendetta against Inkatha. This vendetta was the kind that spurred violence and was incompatible with UDF and COSATU-stated aims to bring about peace.

"The time has come to say that the kind of political propaganda which results in killing and which continues to be directed against Inkatha by factions either inside COSATU and the UDF, or alternatively by groups they fund or direct or are closely allied to, must cease.

"There can be no purity in the UDF and COSATU peace initiatives while vicious vendettas against Inkatha, making it the villain of the peace and making it an organisation wilfully instigating violence, continue."

He called for a cessation of propaganda hostilities as a precursor to the cessation of physical hostilities, adding that it was against the background of his serious commitment to peace, and against a call for pragmatism, that he was so appalled at the inability of UDF and COSATU to stop "stancing and prancing."

#### **Talks Conclude 23 Jun**

*MB2306193589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1922 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Text] Durban, June 23, SAPA—It was smiles all round after the second day of peace talks, between the COSATU/UDF alliance and Inkatha to end the Natal violence, at Durban's Royal Hotel today.

After five and a half hours of discussion, during which the COSATU/UDF alliance went into caucus twice, the delegates appeared relaxed and smiling. It is understood they will meet again shortly.

During the COSATU/UDF's first caucus withdrawal, UDF President Archie Gumede, who has recently had some of his restriction orders relaxed to enable him to participate in the negotiations, joined them briefly for about five minutes.

In a joint statement after the meeting, the delegates said they met to consider further inputs and amplification of proposals presented at the first meeting.

"We have now agreed on the format and contents of a joint report which will be finalised in due course and submitted to our respective organisations and presidents," the statement said.

"We are indeed painfully aware of the fact that as we are engaged in these negotiations, the violence in our areas still continues.

"We thus re-iterate our call to all forces in the areas to give this peace process the chance that it deserves," the statement added.

The COSATU/UDF alliance was represented by Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary; Mr Jay Naidoo, COSATU's general secretary; Mr Alec Erwin, education officer of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA); Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association; and Mr Siphso Gcabashe, Pietermaritzburg organiser of the Food and Allied Workers' Union.

The Inkatha delegation was represented by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha Central Committee member from Mpumalanga.

Meanwhile, the principal of the University of Natal, Prof Pieter Booysen, said today the university fully supported the peace talks. He said the university would make facilities, resources and skills that could be helpful in the talks, available to the negotiators.

"Within the university community there is deep concern about the failure or inability of the government and its agencies to restore and maintain order in the region.

"The university appeals to all those in authority to handle current situation with the energy that it demands, and with sensitivity that is necessary if current peace initiatives are not to be endangered."

Prof Booysen said the university supported the call for an independent commission of inquiry to be appointed to identify the factors which were inhibiting peace in the area and to recommend ways of dealing with the situation.

#### **Buthelezi Urges KwaZulu's Support**

*MB2306195889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1949 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Text] Ulundi June 23 SAPA—KwaZulu chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, tonight gave firm backing to the search for peace in strife-torn Natal.

"We must establish peace between black and black and I am totally convinced that we will do so," Dr Buthelezi said in his closing speech the fifth session of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

"There is a cry from the people for peace," he said. He added that the search for a lasting solution to the Natal crisis must be sought despite continuing violence.

"I charge you (assembly members) with the particular responsibility of making 1989 a year of action for peace," he told the assembly.

He added: "Political reputations will be made or broken on this question of what you as members of the KwaZulu legislative assembly and as leaders in Inkatha actually did to bring about peace." He urged members to elicit support from their constituencies for the peace talks now underway between United Democratic Front/COSATU and Inkatha.

"We in Inkatha are making it quite clear to whomever we talk that we have commenced our own drive towards peace," the KwaZulu chief minister said.

"We are doing whatever we can do at the grass root level to bring about peace. We will continue to do so...

"In the end, the black unity we are searching for will be established," he added.

Dr Buthelezi said while his organisation made peace moves "we have every right therefore to demand that others do so too."

"The liberation of black South Africa comes first. It is peace for that liberation to which we are committed."

#### **ANC Reacts to Possible Kaunda-De Klerk Talks**

*MB1406121589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1147 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 14 SAPA—The African National Congress (ANC) today said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's proposed dialogue with Pretoria should not jeopardise the Frontline States' stance of isolating the "apartheid regime".

An ANC official in Harare told ZIANA that if Zambia thought it could achieve something by talking to the "racist regime" but still maintain the same position as other Frontline States, it could go ahead.

"He (Kaunda) is calling for dialogue which will make him realise that F.W. de Klerk (the probable future president of South Africa) is the same as (P.W.) Botha. We are confident that after the meeting, if ever it is going to take place, Kaunda is still going to maintain his position on apartheid and the ANC.

"We black South Africans have been fighting this regime for years and we think we understand it very well. As the ANC, we only believe that pressure, and more pressure must be mounted on Pretoria.

"Kaunda is a president of an independent state which is free to meet and talk with whoever it wants anytime anywhere. We, as the fighting forces inside South Africa, do not believe that the coming in (to power) of De Klerk will bring any change," said the spokesman who preferred anonymity.

He said the Zambian president's proposed meeting with Mr de Klerk could not be regarded simply as collaboration, "because Kaunda is in no way a man who can be regarded as a friend of South Africa".

#### **ANC Considering Negotiations With Government**

*MB2406060289 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 24 Jun 89*

[Excerpt] The ANC [African National Congress] and Frontline States seem to be moving toward talks with the South African Government. An ANC spokesman says an internal document is making its rounds within the organization considering peaceful ways of dismantling apartheid. She says the ANC has started discussing whether it can negotiate with Pretoria, and on what terms. [passage omitted]

**Tambo Gives 'Keynote Speech' on Terms for Talks**  
*MB2206112589 Johannesburg THE STAR in English*  
22 Jun 89 p 3

[By Sue Leeman]

[Text] London—ANC [African National Congress] president Mr Oliver Tambo has reiterated the ANC's "bottom line" of steps Pretoria must take before the ANC will consider negotiating.

He did so in a keynote speech as Nationalist leader Mr F.W. de Klerk flew to Europe for his visit to political leaders.

In the speech, Mr Tambo dealt with questions such as ANC conditions for negotiating with the South African Government and its attitude to sanctions against South Africa. He also attacked policy statements made by the Government.

Details of what Mr Tambo said may not be published in South Africa because he is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act. The address, to the Socialist International congress in Stockholm on Tuesday [20 June], has increased pressure on Mr de Klerk, who will see Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Thursday [22 June] and Mrs Thatcher on Friday.

The British and West German leaders will be expecting a concrete reform agenda.

**Communist Party Considers 'Negotiated Settlement'**  
*MB2306113789 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL*  
in English 23-29 Jun 89 p 3

[Text] The South African Communist Party [SACP] recently held its biggest and most significant congress since the organisation went into exile in 1963, according to the organisation's mouthpiece, UMSEBENZI.

High on the agenda of the party's seventh congress—held at a secret location under conditions of tight security—was the possibility of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's conflicts.

A party adopted a new programme at the congress, called "The Path to Power", replacing its 1962 guidelines. The document accepts that the strategies of armed struggle and popular insurrection do not rule out the possibility of negotiations and compromise.

Pretoria, the SACP believes, is attempting to catch the "mass democratic movement" off-guard and to push militant organisations into negotiations while they do not have enough strength on the ground to back their demands.

The programme acknowledges South Africa is not a suitable site for classic guerrilla warfare and says the chance of seizing power in this way appears remote. Instead it stresses the need for mass-based organisation inside the country to be merged with armed struggle.

The new programme emphasises that divisions within the "white bloc" in South Africa have intensified and says anti-apartheid groups should encourage whites to withdraw their support for minority rule.

"The Path to Power" confirms the SACP doctrine that South Africa has been shaped by "colonialism of a special type"—by the existence of a group of white settlers who, having established themselves as an indigenous group, now hold power over the mass of black people in a way that resembles colonial rule.

Following this model, the party programme outlines the need for a "two-stage struggle" in which a "national democratic revolution" will open the way for a transition to socialism.

It insists that the struggle for socialism should not be seen as distinct from the fight for democracy, but notes that nationwide unity would be weakened if socialism were to be emphasised by resistance groups.

The programme was the result of intense discussion and analysis since 1983, says UMSEBENZI. The party claimed that membership had risen by about 90 percent since the last congress in 1984 and that its popularity has grown among workers inside the country.

Joe Slovo was re-elected general secretary and Dan Tloome national chairperson.

An indication that aspects of glasnost have influenced the SACP, the congress decided to reinstate three South African communists who disappeared during Stalin's purges.

**ANC Broadcast Views De Klerk's W. Europe Tour**  
*EA2406193189 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English*  
1930 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Station commentary]

[Excerpt] Compatriots, on 10th June 1989 the Pretoria regime reimposed the state of emergency, thus proving to the whole world its arrogance against the international outcry that the brutal state of emergency should be lifted and for the apartheid system to be dismantled. By reimposing the state of emergency, the Pretoria regime was trying to convey to the world that apartheid was (?here) to stay, for it is through that state of emergency that the regime can defend apartheid. Yet, a few days later, apartheid leader and President-designate F.W. de Klerk is parading in Western Europe, portraying himself as a man who can finally (?lever) South Africa away from

apartheid and therefore away from international isolation that is resulting from the criminal system of apartheid (?that) the Pretoria regime [word indistinct].

F.W. de Klerk, an uncompromising defender of the apartheid system, yesterday began a tour of a number of West European countries, including Britain and West Germany, where he will meet Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl [word indistinct]. To his hosts F.W. de Klerk will be talking about the great reforms he intends to implement, if and when he assumes the mantle of apartheid state president. Obviously, the apartheid leader will be pressing on his hosts about how necessary it is to maintain the state of emergency and show that his so-called reforms are strategic. He will go on to convince his hosts that the Nationalist Party's concept of so-called power sharing is the best solution to the problems afflicting our country, because of the Nationalist view that South Africa is a country of so-called minority. This is what F.W. de Klerk will be telling Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, and other West European countries.

This is what the Nationalist Party has been telling [words indistinct] South Africa for a long time now. That is what the people of South Africa reject, and this is why even [word indistinct] De Klerk goes to Europe to persuade other countries not to be tough against apartheid, leaving behind a country in flames, with our people fighting apartheid as never before. As De Klerk left for Western Europe to offer false promises of reforms to those who would like to believe the apartheid lie, the demand of our people remains. It is that apartheid must go, that the system cannot be reformed and should rather be replaced by a truly democratic system which can only be constructed by the people of South Africa as a whole.

The fact that the apartheid regime reimposed the state of emergency, despite calls from the international community that the state of emergency should be terminated, speaks for itself. Regardless of the promises that De Klerk and his regime will dangle in the eyes of the world, the reality in South Africa is that apartheid will be there to stay. The reality in South Africa is the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and all our leaders. The reality is the daily killing of our people by the apartheid troops and police. That reality does not meet anywhere with the promises of reforms. Rather, the reality that the people of South Africa know [words indistinct] not to expect anything from the apartheid regime and to struggle (?against it).

And it is that struggle of the South African people against the system that the apartheid regime seeks to destroy in its (?growing) diplomatic offensive into Western Europe. To the people of South Africa, this desperation (?in the) apartheid regime to be given a chance, is purely for external consumption. It is a ploy to achieve two things: one being to demoralize the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid, and the other being to salvage the dying apartheid economy from ultimate death.

The apartheid regime, having been rejected as illegitimate by the overwhelming majority of South Africans, now is attempting to seek its responsibility and legitimacy from outside of South Africa. Compatriots, the ultimate objective of the Pretoria regime with its false promises of reform and dialogue with all South Africans, is to create a climate of permanent survival for the apartheid system. Pretoria's intention to maintain the apartheid system has clearly spelt out (?by) the regime's rhetoric about maintaining minority rights.

For the regime, the permanent survival of the criminal system of apartheid can be achieved in a situation where there are no sanctions imposed by the international community and where there is no support for the cause of the politically rightless majority in our country. This is what F.W. de Klerk went to ask from West European countries. The apartheid regime will never abandon its criminal system to dialogue and soft persuasion. This is the experience of those who have suffered under apartheid, those who have been persecuted in the name of white minority rule.

Of course, those whom the Pretoria regime will talk to will be quick to point out that the so-called Pretoria's cooperation in the process leading to Namibia's independence is proof of the changing attitudes of the Pretoria regime. But even now that we can say Namibia's independence is coming, Cuito Cuanavale remains vivid in our minds as an example of what pressure can do on a regime as stubborn and arrogant as the Pretoria regime. Had the Pretoria regime not been forced to quit Angola by military means, the world would not now be looking forward to Namibia's independence. After all, 10 years of soft persuasion and dialogue with the Pretoria regime could not bring the implementation of Resolution 435 nearer. In South Africa, too, the same will be true.

The superficial adjustments that the Pretoria regime has introduced on the apartheid system are not as a result of soft talking by the people. They are as a result of struggle, armed political and international struggle, to isolate the regime. To remove that struggle and beg to persuade the Pretoria regime, not only will there be no adjustments, but the need to end apartheid will also not be there. The regime will comfortably preside over the [word indistinct] of millions of South Africans, knowing that there will be no opposing pressure. The apartheid regime therefore welcomes any opportunity to talk to other countries because it [word indistinct] break down its internationally recognized image as a pariah state.

This is what the Pretoria regime's offensive approach is all about. If successful, the Pretoria regime will concentrate on the more pressing tasks, to strengthen apartheid and destroy the liberation movements and the struggle against apartheid. The campaign for the Pretoria regime's economic and diplomatic isolation has today never been more necessary. The unending repression demands more than ever before that sanctions and other international forms of pressure must be stepped up and

not (?rescinded). Now is not the time to ease the pressure. Now is the time to escalate the pressure against the criminal system in Pretoria. Not to escalate the pressure will only turn the situation in our country in one of greater bloodshed. The shortest possible route to a less bloody solution is for the whites to slam the doors in the face of the Pretoria regime, the butcher of our (?people).

We know that the main task of ending apartheid rests with the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, the African National Congress [ANC], who shall carry out that responsibility. But those who would sincerely like to see apartheid go, their task is to impose more pressures against the regime. The apartheid regime is not and will never be interested in dialogue to end the apartheid system. Those who open their doors to the regime should therefore never use the process of promoting dialogue to end apartheid for [words indistinct] to salvage Pretoria out of isolation.

Compatriots, one of the things that F.W. de Klerk will be telling his hosts in Europe is that the regime is ready to talk and end apartheid. Inevitably, the response of his European hosts will be to call on the ANC to abandon our struggle. But the president of the ANC says when the struggle has been intensified, the Pretoria regime will realize herself the need to negotiate. As for the ANC, to negotiate is not a problem if the regime meets the conditions, and not put conditions on the ANC to abandon armed struggle. [passage omitted]

**SACC Releases Report on Chikane Poisoning**  
*MB1406091889 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
0909 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 14 SAPA—The results of further tests on the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches [SACC], received on June 9, show p-nitrophenol was present in Mr Chikane's urine during his last hospitalization, Dr Daniel J. Smith, assistant professor of medicine at the University of Wisconsin Medical School, said in a medical report released last weekend.

The report, released in Johannesburg by the South African Council of Churches today, said the presence of p-nitrophenol, a breakdown product of many organophosphate anticholinesterases, along with the results of previous reported tests, provided strong evidence Mr Chikane had been exposed to an organophosphate.

Last week, Dr Smith said while the findings then were very suggestive of exposure to an organophosphate anticholinesterases or pharmaceutically similar compound, exposure to such a compound could only be confirmed with further tests which were then underway.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison Police have removed all items Mr Chikane brought from South Africa and have transferred them to an evidence room to await further testing. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been involved in the investigation, according to the SACC.

Since he was discharged from the hospital, Mr Chikane has recovered fully and will be returning to South Africa within days, the SACC said.

Mr Chikane will receive an honorary doctorate in theology from the State University Gronigen, Netherlands, on Friday (June 16) for "his outstanding contribution in the development of an authentic contextual theology for South Africa", the SACC said in another statement today.

**Inflation Rate Posts 14.9 Percent Increase**  
*MB2206142489 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1249 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg, June 22, SAPA—The South African inflation rate in May rose again, to just under 15 percent.

Figures released by the Central Statistical Service put the rise in the Consumer Price Index at 14.9 per cent, a 0.9 per cent increase on April's 14 per cent.

Hardest hit were the upper income group which faced inflation of 16.3 per cent, the middle income group had 14 per cent and the lower income group 12.7 per cent.

The main culprits in the increase in the inflation rate were food, which had remained static for several months, housing, vehicles and the running cost of vehicles.

Food prices in May were 9.3 per cent higher compared to May 1988. The price of fruit rose by 10 per cent, vegetables by 5.8 per cent and grain products by 3.3 per cent. A decrease of 3.3 per cent was recorded in the price of fish.

The cost of vehicles was up by 5.3 per cent and the cost of running them by 5.5 per cent. Clothing was 1.9 per cent up, housing 1.3 per cent, household consumable goods by one per cent, transport by 4.3 per cent and wages of domestic servants by 1.1 per cent.

The largest annual rate of increase occurred in the Port Elizabeth area, where the figure was 16.3 per cent and the lowest level of price increases was in Kimberley.

The rate of price increases for pensioners was over three per cent down on the average inflation rate at 11.3 per cent.

**Commentary on Favorable Industrial Prospects**

*MB2906053389 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] That the economy is going through difficult times is obvious to all. Inflation and other problems, many of them imported, are buffeting the economy. But, with the problems, there are also challenging opportunities, and nowhere is this more so than in the industrial sector. Industry, in fact, is already showing the way towards a chapter of more rapid economic growth for South Africa.

Last year the industrial sector grew in volume terms by 6 percent, the highest rate recorded since 1981, and the objective over the next 5 years is an average growth of at least 5 percent a year. A chief goal for the industrial sector is export promotion and import substitution. In this regard, a joint initiative by the government and industrialists is placing emphasis on five areas: cars and automotive components, chemicals, textiles, electronics, and steel and stainless steel.

Earlier this year the government also announced rebates on surcharges on imports where such imports are part of a counter trade scheme that will lead to the production of new export goods. Another goal, long talked about but which need greater practical application at this time, is the beneficiation of minerals.

In the agricultural sector, too, there is need for greater processing of raw materials into end products. Major expansions in the industrial sector are in the pipeline, and these will not only provide an important stimulus to the economy as a whole but will also assist in the vital area of job creation and the training of more workers in better skills. Figures provided this week by the deputy minister of finance, Dr Org Marais, show that in the next 2 years capital expenditure on projects in the industrial sector alone will exceed 1 billion rand.

And this figure does not include massive projects such as the Moss gas project, on which 5.3 billion rand will be spent in the next several years. Sasol's [coal-oil parastatal] polypropylene project and various private sector chemical projects, according to Dr Marais's figures, capital expenditure on industrial projects—the mining sector excluded—and expansions in the general industrial sector will amount in the next 3 years to between 10 billion and 15 billion rand.

This scenario of a rapidly growing industrial sector must be read in conjunction with statistics that show that the economy performed better last year than is generally acknowledged. Thus, the real gross domestic product rose by more than 3 percent in 1988 and the real gross national product by 4.5 percent. These indicators also showed per capita increase. And there was an increase as well in labor productivity and in real salaries and wages per worker.

Belt tightening is still necessary, but the slow return has begun to a more favorable economic climate.

**Commerce Official Discusses Exports, Sanctions**

*MB1406144489 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1130 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Interview with Bess Robertson, export secretary for the South African Association of Chambers of Commerce, by Colin Houston on the "African South" program; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Robertson] Well, if you compare the 1987 figures with the 1988 figures, which were just recently published, exports increased by 12.96 percent. Of course, there is a need for us to diversify our exports. A lot of these have been in the field of minerals and basic raw materials, but we are making a determined effort in South Africa to develop the export of beneficiated products, manufactured products. We feel you cannot totally rely on the export of base minerals and gold. We have to develop the economy to become more broadly diversified in the products we export.

[Houston] In many ways, I suppose, it could be said—perhaps a little wryly—that sanctions have made us get ourselves together a bit, and we've looked at what we do export, and we've improved those areas, and we've changed our philosophy to a large extent. So, to that extent, sanctions have helped us.

[Robertson] We have diversified our markets, and I think that some of the markets that have been lost on account of sanctions, people are not likely to go back to those areas. Once you develop a new market, and it works well, you will retain it.

[Houston] Now, although the figures have increased, it is interesting to look at why they've increased. Have they increased because of this beneficiation and other advantages? We do know that so many countries have sanction actions against South Africa to varying extents. So, why would figures increase under those circumstances? Is it because we've made improvements in our systems? Or is it that simply it doesn't work?

[Robertson] It's very difficult to say really why they have improved. I myself think that a greater effort has been made to find different markets, and perhaps more attention has been given to the need to export. In order to develop a greater diversification of the export of manufactured products, positive steps should be taken to develop an export culture in South Africa, in terms of which South African manufacturers would commit themselves to an export program, which should not vacillate in accordance with economic trends, as has been the case in the past. If the local market is not so good, and there's excess capacity, then South Africans—the ones that are not dedicated—have tried to find a market. And, not being dedicated, as soon as the local economy picks up, then they have gone back to the local

market, as it's easier to sell in the local market than it is to export; you've got this tremendous effort of the transportation. I think South Africa is the one country in the world that is faced with having to transport the majority—90 percent, I would say—of its exports over long distances.

[Houston] I call South African exporters who do that opportunists, and fair-weather exporters. Is that fair?

[Robertson] South African exporters have been accused of that, and from experience and reports we've heard, it could be said that that is the case. But this does not include the dedicated exporters. There are very many manufacturers who today—and have for many years—put aside or slanted some of their production, purely for export. And they have improved it, and it's shown by the figures. They have done very well, but it's the smaller people who could find it very difficult, and as soon as it's possible to sell locally, take advantage of the easier market activities in South Africa.

**Commentary on West's Rejecting Further Sanctions**  
*MB1406175289 Johannesburg International Service*  
*in English 1100 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Station commentary: "Western Europe Rejecting Sanctions"]

[Text] Major Western governments have again rejected moves to impose further sanctions against South Africa. Foreign ministers of the 12 member states of the European Community agreed that Mr F.W. de Klerk, who will probably become president after the September elections, should be given a chance to demonstrate his commitment to reform in South Africa.

In the United States, Dr Chester Crocker has stated in an international broadcast that the American experience of sanctions against South Africa was that they had been counterproductive.

These and other remarks point to a growing acknowledgement in the West of South African efforts to solve the country's constitutional problems. There is the willingness to give its people a chance to work towards acceptable solutions to peaceful negotiations between leaders of all communities. In the words of Dr Crocker, only South Africans can remake the country's political culture and constitution. It makes more sense to provide encouragement than to alienate them.

There is also a greater realization that in some Africa governments, rhetoric and reality do not necessarily coincide. The request to the EC this week to impose further sanctions was made by the Zambian ambassador on behalf of the Frontline States. Yet, it was Zambia's own president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, who said recently that it would not be appropriate to impose further sanctions against South Africa. And according to the

latest trade figures, Zambia last year again increased its trade with South Africa. The facts like these are becoming more widely known in the West.

**Academics Discuss 'Nuclear Option' for Missiles**  
*MB2206111589 Johannesburg THE STAR in English*  
*22 Jun 89 p 11*

[By military correspondent Craig Kotze]

[Text] South Africa has the technology and capability to manufacture ballistic missiles, experts say. It is also widely believed that South Africa has the capability to make nuclear bombs.

But experts believe it would be counter-productive for South Africa to actually arm ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads, for both political and economic reasons.

Far better, they say, to arm a system such as the Jericho II with a conventional (explosives) warhead and to use it to fill the gaps in South Africa's Air Force armoury, such as the lack of heavy bombers.

Another reason which could spur South Africa to make such missiles would be to sell on the international arms market, where there is a huge demand for these deadly weapons and where Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] would find a ready market. Armscor is already far-advanced in missile technology.

The capabilities of long-range missiles, with conventional warheads, used by countries outside the super-power arena was graphically illustrated by the devastating "War of the Cities" between Iran and Iraq. Both sides bombarded cities with missiles similar to that South Africa and Israel are said to have made, shattering morale and bringing industry to a standstill. Missiles are relatively inexpensive and are extremely difficult to counter. The only adequate countermeasure would seem to be a missile armoury of your own.

"There is a great demand for these missiles in countries like Iran and Iraq. Someone may even have asked South Africa to develop such a missile for them.

"Possessing such a system would not necessarily mean it would be used exclusively by South Africa," said Professor Deon Fourie, Strategic Studies expert at the University of South Africa.

"Missiles could be used on enemy formations in the field. They are exceedingly difficult to counter. If loaded with conventional warheads, they could take the place of a heavy bomber force, which South Africa never developed.

"Bombers are difficult to protect and in South Africa's case such losses could not be afforded," he said.

The nuclear option for South African missiles would bear an extremely expensive political price-tag, especially in relations with relatively friendly countries such as Britain.

According to Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Strategic Studies faculty, reports on South African/Israeli testing of a Jericho II version would rekindle the debate on whether South Africa has nuclear weapons or whether it intended signing the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty drawn up to curb their spread.

Says Professor Fourie: "The West is extremely frightened about the spread of nuclear weapons and an outbreak of nuclear war in smaller countries. One of the reasons is that no-one could be sure who was responsible for dropping nuclear bombs in such a war and accusations could be levelled at America and the Soviet Union.

"Should South Africa ever threaten to use such a weapon, countries such as Britain would immediately break off relations."

The American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has estimated that 15 developing countries will have ballistic missiles by the year 2000.

Professor Fourie said South Africa had no need for such nuclear weapons.

"What would we do with them? Eliminate Harare or use them against the ANC [African National Congress] inside South Africa? Far better to channel resources into conventional forces," he said.

**WEEKLY MAIL Publishes 'Apartheid Barometer'**  
MB1506192989 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 15-22 Jun 89 p 6

["Apartheid Barometer"]

[Text]

## DETENTIONS

About 170 people are being held in detention without trial in South Africa (outside the "independent homelands") at the moment, according to police and Human Rights Commission [HRC] figures.

Figures released by the Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria indicate that at the end of May this year there were 90 people held in detention in terms of the Internal Security Act; 72 were held under section 29 (detention for interrogation) and 18 under section 31 (prospective state witnesses). At the end of April 78 people were being held under section 29 and 10 under section 31. At the end of March a total of 111 people were being held in detention under the Internal Security Act.

On 6 June a total of 89 detainees were being held under the Emergency regulations, according to the HRC. Since then about 10 people have been released, an HRC representative said.

**BANNED ORGANISATIONS** A total of 33 organisations were restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations last year. According to a paper, "Suppressing Apartheid's Opponents" by Dr David Webster and Maggie Friedman of the Human Rights Commission, 24 of these organisations were United Democratic Front [UDF] affiliates, four were independent organisations, three were black consciousness organisations, one a trade union federation (the Congress of South African Trade Unions) [COSATU] and one (Blanke Bevrydingheidsbeweging) [White Liberation Movement—BBB] a right-wing group.

The following organisations were restricted last year: Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Azanian Youth Organisation (AZAYO), Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (AZACCO), Black Students Society (BSS), Black Students Movement (BSM), the BBB, Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), Committee for the Defence of Democracy, COSATU, Cradock Residents Association (Cradora), Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC), Democratic Teachers Union, End Conscription Campaign (ECC), Mitchells Plain Student Congress (MSC), National Detainees Forum, National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO), Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO), Release Mandela Committee (RMC), Soweto Civic Association (SCA), Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO), South African National Students Congress (SANSCO), South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), Soweto Students Congress (SOSCO), Transvaal Students Congress (TRASCO), the UDF, Vaal Civic Association (VCA), Western Cape Civic Association, Western Cape Students Congress (WCSC), Western Cape Students Council, Western Cape Teachers Union.

A further two organisations were banned in the "independent homelands"—the People's Progressive Party (PPP) in Bophuthatswana and the Prisoners Welfare Programme in Transkei.

According to Webster and Friedman, 57 organisations have been banned or restricted in South Africa (excluding the "independent homelands"), 39 in Transkei, one in Ciskei and two in Bophuthatswana.

## JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES

A total of 11 Joint Management Centres had been established in South Africa and Namibia at the end of last year, State President P.W. Botha said in parliament.

These were based in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Potchefstroom, Kimberley, Pietersburg, Nelspruit, Pretoria and Walvis Bay.

Botha said the chairman, who were elected annually, were officials of state departments and provinces and officers of the "security forces."

#### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

Paul Themba Chalike, 20, Soweto Students Congress activist, was detained under the Emergency regulations on May 29 this year.

Chalike, who is a matric [matriculation] student in Meadowlands, Soweto, was first detained under the Emergency regulations on 13 June last year and was released with a restriction order on 24 February this year.

He had been on a hunger strike for 10 days prior to his release. At the time of his first detention he was SRC [Student's Representative Council] president at Kwa-Mahloko High School in Meadowlands.

He is currently in Grootvlei Prison in Bloemfontein. He was transferred there from the Lenasia police station with five other detainees after going on a hunger strike.

#### 'Barometer' Continues

MB2306113489 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 23-29 Jun 89 p 6

["Apartheid Barometer"]

[Text]

#### VICTIMS OF POLICE ACTION

There was an 85 percent increase in compensation payments to victims of police action during the 1987/8 financial year, as compared to payments made in the previous financial year, the Democratic Party's Law and Order representative, Helen Suzman, said in parliament.

She said nearly R3.5-million was paid out in settling claims, many via out-of-court settlements "as a consequence of allegations of torture inside police stations and elsewhere", and some after some illegal actions by the police.

#### TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

A total of 35 percent of the economically active population belonged to trade unions last year, according to figures released by the Department of Manpower. According to the department 2,084,323 employees belonged to registered unions and 330,000 were members of unregistered unions.

The department also said there had been a 13.6 percent increase over the 1987 figures of the number of disputes referred to industrial councils. However, 7.7 percent of those ended in deadlock.

#### RESETTLEMENTS

More than 2,200 black families from Natal and the Eastern Cape had been "resettled on a voluntary basis and after negotiation" between April 1 1987 and December 31 1988, the Department of Development Aid stated in its annual report to parliament.

According to the report, 1,356 families from Anande Basin were resettled in Rietvallei near Hillcrest while 293 families from the farm Hattingh, in the Estcourt district, were resettled on farms in Roodekraal.

#### VACANCIES AT COLLEGES

There was a total of 3,567 vacant places at colleges of education under the control of the House of Assembly, the Minister of Education and Culture, Piet Clase, said in parliament. Of these vacancies, 1,354 were in the Cape, 1,004 in Natal, 238 in the Free State and 971 in the Transvaal.

#### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

Solomon Dolamo, 18, Soweto Student Congress [Sosco] activist, was detained on May 29 under the Emergency regulations. It is his second period of detention.

Dolamo, who is a student at Mokgoma High School in Meadowlands, first became politically active when SRCs [Student Representative Council] were formed in the area. Shortly after joining Sosco he was detained but was released on February 27 with a stringent restriction order after spending 17 days on hunger strike in Diepkloof Prison.

Dolamo is being in Grootvlei Prison, Bloemfontein.

#### BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for importation and distribution:

Save Robert McBride—No Apartheid Executions (Lutheran Development Service, Harare); Vyle, April 1989 (Lynn Chemaly); New Dawn no 12, 1988 (Natalia Mishenko, Moscow); Azanian Student Movement 1989 Calender (WECCO and Azasm, Guguletu); Exit no 35 April 1989 (Exit Publications, Johannesburg); Beau Valley brochure depicting 10 photos of females in the nude (Beau Brummel); Seven black-and-white photos of nude females (Beau Brummel); 34 films—Deadly Breed; Nightlife; Snake Eater; Beverly Hills Body Snatchers; Anal Deputy; Alan Sex; Angel of Heat; Ashanti; Bad Girls; Bangkok Connection; Borrow my Wife; China Doll; Deep Throat; Electric Blue 007; Geh Sieh; High Season; Just Married; Liebesgrasse Aus Der Lederhose; Little Schoolgirls; Paradise in Love; Playboy Orgy; Randy Slate, Wyn and Me; Senator's Daughter; Sexboat; Solid Gold; Tangerine; Taxi Girls; Teenage Fantasies; Teenage Girls; Teenage Sex; Tigresses; Tinseltown; Tough Little Sister and The Ups and Downs of a Handyman.

Restricted: A Woman's Guide to Men and Sex (Dr Andrew Stanway—only to be sold in plastic wrapper; no distribution to persons under 18); Stern Heft nr 18 (Gruner and Jahr AG and CO. Hamburg—not to be displayed in public for purposes of distribution).

Unbanned: Living and Loving no 241 May 1989 (Republican Press Mobeni); Aspects of Love (David Garnett).

**NEW NATION Publishes 'Update' Column**  
MB2406074689 Johannesburg *NEW NATION* in English  
23-29 Jun 89 p 6

["Update" column]

[Text] There are 104 people in detention under the emergency regulations, says the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

About 1,000 activists are restricted under the emergency regulations, the HRC added.

About 245 people have died in the Natal conflict since the beginning of the year, according to the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness.

A total of 5,621 exiles have returned to Namibia by Wednesday [21 June], according to the Council of Churches in Namibia.

Of the 274 people on death row this week, 223 were black, according to the Lawyers for Human Rights.

Thirty townships in Transvaal have an accumulated rent and service charge deficit of R382-m, according to local government official Oulas van Zyl.

**24 Jun Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
MB2406172089

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

**Voters Won't Rush to CP Banner**—"We are quite bemused at the carryings on of the Right," writes the Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English on 24 June in a page 6 editorial. "The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] wanted the Conservative Party [CP], the Herstigte Nasionale [Reformed National] Party [HNP] and the AWB to form an election alliance." "The CP needs the HNP even less than it needs the AWB." The CP "believes it is going to win up to 67 seats in the election by punting its apartheid policies." "It figures that if it strikes fear into the voters that reform will sacrifice them on the altar of Black majority rule (which it won't do, anyway) they will vote for the CP in one great tidal wave of anti-Nationalist sentiment." We don't think voters "are going to rush to the CP banner in droves. CPs may be happy their towns will become poor but White, but most people prefer prosperity rather than boycotts of shopping downtowns by

Blacks. The CP is asking the question, 'would you rather live in a Boksburg government by the CP or stay in Hillbrow under Nationalist rule.'" "The true question is not whether you want Hillbrow under the NP, but whether you want economic stagnation, unrest and further international isolation under the CP."

#### SATURDAY STAR

**Open Justice Vital to Security**—"Open justice is vital to the security of both the ruled, and the rulers. Also vital to your personal security is a press which will shout aloud at any perceived injustice," asserts Harvey Tyson in the Johannesburg *SATURDAY STAR* in English on 24 June in his page 10 "Undercurrent Affairs" column. "But how can the press even attempt to meet this responsibility when it is partly gagged; partly blindfolded and occasionally persecuted?" "You ought to shout aloud—certainly you should feel insecure—at the fate of Max du Preez, the editor of *VRYE WEEKBLAD*. He was found guilty this week of technical infringement, one which the court said was committed often by newspapers, but with few prosecutions." "Why should *VRYE WEEKBLAD* be singled out in the first place? Is it because the Afrikaans weekly scratches at sensitive places directly on the Nationalist Party's skin? Is the probing paper too close for comfort?"

#### VRYE WEEKBLAD

**Victim of State Onslaught**—Johannesburg *VRYE WEEKBLAD* in Afrikaans of 23 June declares in an editorial on page 14: "This newspaper became the victim yet again this week of the state's calculated onslaught against the press and its right to inform the public. It is a tragic day for any country when the media can no longer discuss, analyze, or even criticize the views of important politicians. Or when the media are not allowed to provide balanced reporting on a problem which is important to many young white South Africans." "It is difficult enough to try to produce a credible newspaper under the emergency regulations. But it is worse when you become the victim of the unapproachable and petty persecution mania of the state." "*VRYE WEEKBLAD* is a small newspaper which owes its existence to the political convictions of a group of journalists. It never was, and never will be, the mouthpiece of any violent organization, and it has never propagated anarchy or revolution. But that is not always the criterion used by the state. We write about what is taking place in our country; we expose the government for what it is, and we tell our fellow South Africans about a new and better future. This newspaper will not give up."

#### TRANSVALER

**P.W. Botha Era Ends With Pain**—"Why have the last months of the P.W. Botha era degenerated into such pain? Why should we hear that he, according to all indications, is like an old bull driven from the herd and now lonely and embittered and entering oblivion?" asks Johannesburg *TRANSVALER* in Afrikaans on 22 June in a page 8 editorial. "Now, with the debacle concerning the cancellation of the planned farewell banquet—because of his refusal to attend—the following question is

on the table: Has his pride been affected so deeply that he is prepared to turn his back on the party to which he has devoted his whole life, causing it serious embarrassment shortly before the most important election in 40 years? Is a man of his stature worthy of this? Why refuse the approach by the party? There is no better opportunity for the party to bid farewell to its former chief then during a federal congress." "It's a pity that it had to happen like this—it could and should have been much different. The party no longer has any other other option: It should forget the past and look ahead, for a hard struggle and a lot of work await it."

### BEELD

**Treurnicht Pronouncements Ambiguous**—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 23 June in a page 8 editorial notes that "next to the present division in the politics of the right lies an ideological difference which has taken months to fester. The discord in CP [Conservative Party] city councils such as Rustenburg, Boksburg, and Welkom serves as proof of this basic problem.... CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht persists with his usual incomprehensible discussion of 'partition' without specifying what he means. He knows if he supports an Afrikaner state he will lose votes, but the division in circles to the right shows that he will lose votes if doesn't do this." "Better proof that the CP has limited growth potential is difficult to conceive."

**'Cheap' Nationalist campaign strategy**—Durban ILANGA in Zulu on 22-24 June in a page 8 editorial finds "indications pointing to the fact that the National Party will attempt to decry the opposition in the election campaign as 'national security risks', with the view to drawing the white vote into its camp." "The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] will be employed as a campaign weapon, with a shift from the use of the old boogeyman of the 'black threat.' Anyone seeking proof of this should recall the questions posed to Dr Zach de Beer on the 'NETWORK' television program last Sunday [18 June]. It is very sad to see this same government, which has plunged the nation into economic and political chaos, now wanting to blame its sins on others." "It is laughable to have the security of the nation blown into a big issue in a whites-only election. This nation's whites do not even know the meaning of insecurity." "It is sickening to have the government use the security issue in electioneering. The country's whites will soon learn that they are being lured into a camp that really has no security to offer. The way to real progress is not through cheap campaigning in the minority whites-only elections, but rather through negotiations with the black majority on power sharing in the future."

### Press Review for 28 Jun

MB2806113089

[Editorial report]

### THE CITIZEN

**Congratulations for De Klerk**—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 28 June congratulates National Party leader F.W. de Klerk "on his return from his successful visit to Europe." "On the personal level, Mr De Klerk showed a warmth and sincerity that communicated itself to the leaders he met. On the policy level, he was able to talk to them astutely, making it clear that South Africa has to resolve its own problems itself." De Klerk and "the government he will lead will have to determine for themselves what their policy should be." "Whatever the foreign governments want, it is the expectations he has aroused at home that Mr De Klerk has to fulfill." "We have no doubt, after his excellent showing abroad, that Mr De Klerk will not let either his party or his country down."

### CAPE TIMES

**De Klerk's Dilemma**—F.W. de Klerk's European tour represents "an exercise in domestic electioneering more than anything else" comments Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 26 June in a page 6 editorial. "Mr De Klerk is anxious not to offend two conflicting domestic constituencies—urban sophisticates who are looking for dramatic change to revive the economy, and rural-based conservatives who will take fright at change." As the election campaign begins in earnest, "Mr De Klerk will find that his dilemma is becoming acute. The electorate will want to know much more about his constitutional policy while Mr De Klerk will still be reluctant to alarm the right. Yet after the election, Mr De Klerk will be able to stall no longer." If De Klerk does not "strike out firmly" South Africa will "soon be back in the hands of the seurocrats relying on force to hold the line."

### CITY PRESS

**De Klerk's Chance**—De Klerk's European travels present him with an opportunity "he dare not miss", observes Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 25 June in a page 10 editorial. De Klerk will be "tried and tested" by his willingness to pursue dialogue with "the real black leaders in the country." "Mr De Klerk must understand that men make their own histories, their successes and failures. Men also make their decisions according to the options available in a given period. This is the challenge facing Mr De Klerk."

**'What We Want is the Vote'**—In his "My Way" column on the same page of CITY PRESS, Khulu Sibiyi ponders the impact of the "irrelevant" September elections on the "27 million black people in South Africa" who "have no idea how to cast a vote." Politicians "are already firing salvos at each of us." "As the election campaign gains momentum we will be hearing how blacks could be accommodated into the political mainstream—as if we never existed. We will hear how we should be treated—as if we were children." "Some will try to patronise us, especially the DP [Democratic Party], who will bend

over backwards wanting us to believe they care for us. They will invite us to their swimming pools—even if we cannot swim." "They do not realise they make us sick with these gestures. What we want is the vote."

### DIE BURGER

**Worrall Blunders**—Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 22 June in a page 26 editorial declares that "Dr Denis Worrall's blunder this week says much about his style of politics. His reaction to the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] television interview on 18 June [with Democratic Party official Zach de Beer on the "Network" program] exposes disturbing inadequacies in Dr Worrall's political armor. His serious insinuation at a meeting on 20 June in Greenpoint that the SABC technically altered the Network recording to create a distorted image was repudiated by Dr de Beer himself—his co-leader in the Democratic Party troika."

**Treurnicht's Rumormongering**—In another editorial on the same page DIE BURGER writes: "CP [Conservative Party] leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's letter to President P. W. Botha about Minister F. W. De Klerk's European tour is a despicable attempt at rumormongering. The CP says in the letter it 'deduces' that Minister F. W. De Klerk was to 'negotiate' South Africa's constitutional future and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela. The purpose of the visit was also put as 'giving assurances to foreign leaders'. This letter is nothing but malicious rumormongering."

**Democratic Party Reality**—"The louder the Democratic Party's 'troika' of leaders proclaim unity in the party, the faster their reality appears to catch up with them," states DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 26 June in a page 8 editorial. "The person who pointed out just how thinly clad they are is none other than the DP adviser on political strategy, Dr van Zyl Slabbert. He says there are in the left people who belong to the NP's [National Party] right wing. Of course he remains diplomatically silent on the neo-Prog [Progressive]-party's left wing, where there are people who would be more at home in the ranks of the radical leftists."

**Reluctant Treurnicht**—In a second editorial on the same page DIE BURGER remarks that the "reluctance of the opposition leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to say who he met in his lightning tour of Europe becomes clearer by the day. The people he spoke with were not only lesser lights than his propaganda sheet acknowledged, but apparently the support for the partition ideas of the far-right party did not solicit the type of support that was officially noted."

### TRANSVALER

**Time For New Beginning**—Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 26 June in a page 8 editorial notes that "in a time of confusion and uncertainty among many voters, this week one message emerged

clearly: It is time for a new beginning. Minister F. W. de Klerk's visit abroad and the relatively positive attitudes he encountered there created expectations—here and in many Western nations. It has been a long time, not for a decade and some, that there have been so many open doors abroad." "In this spirit of expectation it may be hoped that the [National Party] federal congress would be a true breakthrough."

### BEELD

**Dangerous Game of Polarization**—Political columnist 'Dawie' writes in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 24 June on page 8 that "extravagant predictions of how well the leftists and rightists will do in the forthcoming general election feature most importantly in the opposition's expectations." "The real danger in this has not been mentioned. The left and the right are playing a highly dangerous game. They are racing crazily to see who will first succeed in polarizing the country into two extremes." "Neither the left nor the right is capable of getting their house in order, but they want to govern this difficult country. They promise peace to other people while disemboweling each other. The red warning lights are there to see for everyone who does not deliberately blind himself."

**Motive for Peace**—"About 13 months ago—at the end of May 1988—southern Africa was still a flashpoint," writes Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 27 June in a page 8 editorial. "Since then the Namibian independence plan has been set in motion. South African troops are almost fully withdrawn. A cease-fire has been declared between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] of Angola. Even the possibility of a settlement in Mozambique has emerged." "This has all happened because the black states of southern Africa—albeit forced by circumstances—became agreeable to search for peaceful ways of getting along with South Africa."

**Group Rights Debate**—In another editorial on the same page BEELD notes the "debate on individual rights and group rights started going wrong when the impression was created that the two concepts were irreconcilable. Mr Justice P.J.J. Olivier, the compiler of the Law Commission's provisional principles for a bill of rights, this weekend gave new direction to the debate by pointing out that individual rights and group rights are two complementary sides of human rights."

### REPUBLIKEIN

**Are Police Perfect?**—Windhoek REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 25 June declares in a page 8 editorial that the "game is up for SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and its collaborators' complaints about the police. Now only the willfully blind and deaf could be taken in by their wailing. Of course there are individuals in the police who misbehave." "But are the police supposed to be perfect?" "If there are individuals who misbehave, steps taken against them would be welcome. In fact, the administrator general will demand that steps be taken."

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